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Opening Phase of Vienna Talks Reviewed

PM1303132989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Vitaliy Korionov "View from Moscow": "Do Not Miss the Opportunity"]

[Text] In Vienna a process has started whose importance to the fate of European and world peace is hard to overestimate. After the 3-day meeting of foreign ministers of the 33 European states, the United States, and Canada, during which the sides set out their principled positions, talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and on confidence- and security-building measures have begun. The diplomats and experts have swung into action. The time has come to seek specific ways to solve questions and elaborate draft documents. In brief, the hard work has begun.

Speaking on NATO's behalf at the foreign ministers' meeting, British Foreign Secretary G. Howe began his speech with a distinctive kind of statement: "The recent talks on conventional arms control in Vienna lasted 16 years; the longest gestation in the history of arms control, which did not result in a birth, so to speak."

We are not going to recall here who is responsible for that failure. The important thing now is to stress another point: The Vienna talks have begun in a qualitatively new atmosphere reflecting the spirit of the new political thinking. It is rightly being noted that they began "under a favorable sign": The knots which till recently seemed tied fast are unraveling.

Judge for yourselves. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is being implemented. Reciprocal inspections of military installations have become the norm. Reciprocal notification of upcoming military maneuvers and troop movements have become customary. The Helsinki process has taken deep root: After all, the "23-state" and "35-state" talks are nothing less than the fruits of the Helsinki conference. Confidence among countries, peoples, and governments is increasing.

The socialist countries, which are seeking to pave the way as far as possible to the demilitarization of Europe, are setting an example here. The Soviet Union is unilaterally reducing considerably its military budget and its armed forces. This year alone they will be cut by more than 20,000 men, 2,700 tanks, and 300 warplanes. Some 24 tactical missile launchers will be removed from the GDR. To get a real picture of the scale of implementation of the Soviet armaments reduction program, suffice it to say that it means cutting a military contingent equivalent to West Germany's Bundeswehr. Other socialist countries—the GDR, Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania—are reducing their armed forces and defense appropriations at the same time.

Drawing lessons from the regrettable experience of the deadlock at the talks on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in central Europe, the Warsaw Pact countries promptly published figures on the real correlation of the two opposing military groupings' armed forces. Assessing the significance of this act, West Germany's RHEINISCHE POST wrote: "The Warsaw Pact's publication of statistical data on the size of the armed forces and main types of armaments permits one to hope that the talks will be constructive and objective."

It is almost unanimously acknowledged by the world's press that the USSR foreign minister's speech set a constructive tone at the Vienna talks. The attention of the international public immediately focused on the Soviet plan. This clearly displeased certain press organs in the West, which began claiming that the USSR's proposals were nothing more than a "propaganda campaign to win over public opinion" and to "bewitch the peoples."

However, these comments are clearly not finding support and other more objective assessments are prevailing. For example, THE NEW YORK TIMES rated the Soviet minister's speech "businesslike and free of polemic."

The world public is noting that the Soviet proposals are characterized not only by specificity but also by breadth and scope. It is well-known that a state's armed forces consist of at least three types: ground forces, air forces, and naval forces—and it is logical to examine them as a package. After all, Europe is washed by seas whose waters are plowed by hundreds of warships. Is it possible, therefore, as some NATO members suggest, to "exclude" from consideration the 700,000 sailors, 1,600 NATO warplanes, and around 800 capital ships and submarines alone? Are the U.S. and NATO navies not the most important instrument in the implementation of their policy of military strength?

One should not oversimplify matters, of course. The questions due to be tackled in Vienna are difficult and intricate and affect the core of a state's strategy. Their solution will require the mutual consideration of each state's interests and the maximum goodwill of all participants. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have set the aim not only of reducing the conventional armaments and armed forces in a region from the Atlantic to the Urals. They are also setting a larger-scale task. The imposing aim has been set of building a Europe of a new quality and worth. The all-European home, whose building is on the agenda, is one which should contain only as many weapons as are needed to ensure security and whose "residents" will be full of mutual trust. Only on this basis can we set about healing the division of Europe.

The road to the solution of these tasks has been cleared by all those who really value the cause of peace. The present favorable atmosphere in the world is the result of many years of tremendous and purposeful efforts by the socialist and other peace-loving states and hundreds of millions of people who have dedicated themselves to the cause of averting the danger of a new war.

It is the common cause of mankind which is at issue in Vienna's Hofburg Palace and that cause must be advanced by the efforts of all the peoples and states. The talks will most probably be lengthy and difficult. The adherents of the "pro-weapons party" are not abandoning their aims, which are contrary to the peace-loving aspirations of the peoples. It is also beyond question, however, that the Europeans now have a truly unique opportunity. It is worth struggling to take advantage of that opportunity, sparing neither effort nor energy, reason nor will.

Delegation Head Grinevskiy Gives News Conference

PM1303181189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Tosunyan dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Vienna: Working With Utmost Vigor"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] As soon as the 3-day meeting of foreign ministers of CSCE participant countries ended at Vienna's Hofburg Palace 9 March, talks opened on confidence-building and security measures, attended by 35 countries, and on conventional arms, which are attended by 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries.

O.A. Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, spoke at a news conference devoted to the opening of the talks. He said that the foreign ministers' meeting had been dynamic and heated, but not confrontational. Essentially, there was an exchange of stances, but not of accusations, as has frequently been the case in the past.

"This businesslike impetus," the head of the Soviet delegation went on, "must, without fail, be reflected both in the talks on conventional arms, and the talks on confidence-building measures."

The Bulgarian delegation has announced a proposal to supplement confidence-building measures, which has the support of all socialist countries. The Warsaw Pact countries have instructed the Soviet delegation to submit the proposal on conventional arms reductions on their behalf. The Western countries have also set out their positions.

"It is to be hoped," O.A. Grinevskiy said, "that the simultaneous presentation of proposals reflects the intention of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries to embark on the elaboration of accords without procrastination."

Briefly about our own stance: We have set ourselves the task of striving at the talks for deep cuts in arms and armed forces, with a view to achieving a phased transition to nonoffensive defense, in other words, such military positions as would allow no capability for surprise attack or large-scale offensive operations. There is relatively broad agreement between East and West in this respect.

A brief summing up of the 3-day foreign ministers talks makes it possible to draw the following conclusion, according to the head of the Soviet delegation: The talks that are beginning are unprecedented both as regards their set aims and their likely multifarious consequences. We are aware, of course, that there will be difficulties, and possibly considerable ones at that. However, we take a sober view of this and hope that through the joint efforts of the sides it will be possible to bring the talks to a successful conclusion. We are seriously concerned at Western plans to modernize certain types of tactical nuclear weapons and calls to create [sozdaniye] new types of weapons.

It must be clearly understood that there is a limit to goodwill, O.A. Grinevskiy stressed. We have taken a whole series of very important unilateral steps, but let no one delude himself with the hope that in conditions of profound internal transformations in our country we will bow to unjustified claims and stakes that are too high.

It is very important to ensure, the head of the Soviet delegation then said, that the talks acquire a good momentum from the start. It seems to us that in order to achieve this it is necessary right now to draw up the outline of an accord and to keep the subject of discussions within the framework defined in the Final Document of the Vienna meeting.

There is an entirely realistic risk that the talks may drown in long and fruitless haggling over figures. In order to avoid this it is clearly necessary to agree to begin to conduct negotiations on five-six categories of arms and to concentrate on the elaboration of common criteria for calculating them.

Initially, we believe, the agreement should provide for the reduction of these categories by, say, 10-15 percent below the current lowest levels of either of the sides. It is also necessary to agree to verification measures which would give people full confidence that the agreed limits on forces and arms are being observed. In our view, if people set their minds and work with the utmost vigor, without delays and pauses, such an initial agreement could be reached within a relatively short time, O.A. Grinevskiy emphasized in conclusion.

Troops Near Scandinavia To Be Cut by 20,000

LD1003202889 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The Soviet Union will be reducing its forces in the area near Scandinavia by up to 20,000 men. This was announced in Moscow today to the visiting Norwegian Defense Committee

[Moscow correspondent Boerje Remdahl] President Mikhail Gorbachev had previously announced that the number of Soviet armed troops would be reduced by half a million men. The 20,000 soldiers now to be removed from the Leningrad Military District and the Murmansk bases on the Kola Peninsula are part of this number, but just as important as the number, actually, is the type of unit affected by the announced reductions. On this question, the Norwegian defense officials got no answer, nor was anything disclosed about what weapons systems will be removed from this border region. The head of the North Norway Military District, Admiral Ole Kristian Thomesen, who accompanied the Norwegian Defense Committee here, says that the most important thing is for the Soviet leadership to withdraw troops intended for invasion operations and which have an offensive character.

[Begin recording] [Thomesen, in Norwegian] We in North Norway would, of course, prefer to have this naval [words indistinct] abolished, but there has been no (?sign) [words indistinct].

[Remdahl] Is it mainly the naval infantry you are talking about, then?

[Thomesen] Well, obviously the naval infantry has an offensive character and we would prefer not to see it there.

[Remdahl] Do you think you (?should) get an assurance that there will be no increase in troops in Kola anyway?

[Thomesen] Yes, I do. [end recording]

North Atlantic Naval Forces Conference Sought

LD1303163589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 March—TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

The USSR has drawn attention to the initiative of the Icelandic Government on holding an international conference on naval forces in the North Atlantic and the possible complete demilitarization of the North Sea region in the future. It is being regarded as evidence of the growing interest of northern Europeans in the strengthening of security and trust and military and political stability in this part of the world.

Iceland's finance minister, Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, reported this initiative in Oslo at the forum of representatives from the countries of northern Europe, the Soviet Union, and the United States on the problems of security in northern Europe. He noted in particular that the conference could discuss arms cuts in the North Sea region, work out methods of holding talks, and discuss the agenda concerning disarmament problems in Europe.

Soviet diplomatic circles have noted the importance of this statement as well as the recent words of Iceland's Prime Minister Hermannsson to the effect that nuclear arms will not be sited on Icelandic territory in either peace or war time. The latest foreign policy actions by Iceland recall Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk speech in October 1987, when he invited the states of the northern region "to discuss the security issues, which long ago came to a head here."

"The conference, proposed by the Icelandic Government, on the condition, naturally, that all interested states, including the United States, take part in it, could facilitate the organization of a thoroughgoing dialogue on restricting naval activity and reducing arms at sea, the TASS diplomatic correspondent was told at the USSR Foreign Ministry. The Soviet Union, too, is ready to make its constructive contribution to dealing with this task."

Deputy Defense Minister on Military Conversion

AU0703180989 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 10, 6 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with Army General Dmitriy Sukhorukov, USSR deputy minister of defense, "especially for POGLED by NOVOSTI": "The Conversion"—name of interviewer, date, place not given]

[Text] [Sukhorukov] The program on unilaterally reducing the USSR Armed Forces, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev from the UN rostrum, envisages a 12 percent reduction of the USSR Army and Navy. The fate of hundreds of thousands of people is involved. Their retirement from active military service will mean a change of profession, the necessity of adapting to new labor conditions, the emergence of many everyday problems of life, and other problems. Our task is to reduce these problems to a minimum.

As a result of reducing the administrative apparatus in the civilian sector, we have gained some experience, which we will try to fully apply in the military area.

Some 80 percent of the 500,000 troops that will leave the military are on regular active duty. The young people will return to normal civilian life. As far as the officers are concerned, it is more complicated, and must be approached with utmost attention. We already have bitter experience with the reduction of the Armed Forces in the sixties, when many officers did not receive the necessary attention. Such an approach is inadmissible. After all, the majority of the professional officers are people who have devoted their entire life to the service of the motherland. They have the right to rely on the care and attention of society.

[Interviewer] Young people have priority in military service. However, does not the Ministry of Defense run the risk of losing its most experienced cadres?

[Sukhorukov] The Army needs both a continual rejuvenation and experienced and knowledgable cadres. Therefore, the transfer to the reserve forces of every officer will be decided on an individual basis. Relying on the collective, glasnost, a principled attitude, and goodwill—those are the principles of our work during the certification period, which will take place during the current year. The certification will allow us to determine the degree of the professional ability of everyone, as well as to purge [da se izchistyat] the military collectives of people who have accidentally found their place in the Army. The reduction as a whole will facilitate improvement of the officer corps' qualities.

[Interviewer] The training of an officer is a long and costly process. Are we not going to lose more than we will gain?

[Sukhorukov] The training of each pilot costs more than R1 million. Naturally, the transfer of an engineer or an officer with a rare profession to the reserve forces represents a loss for the Army. However, on the other hand, a highly qualified specialist represents a gain for the national economy. In the near future many defense enterprises will be transferred to nonmilitary production. Thus, the work of the former military expert in the former military enterprise will represent a double conversion. The process of reducing the Army simultaneously is a process of returning significant labor and material resources to the nonmilitary sphere of material production.

[Interviewer] Certain circles in the West are trying to present the unilateral reduction of the USSR Armed Forces as a purely propaganda campaign....

[Sukhorukov] Unfortunately, the image of the USSR as the "Empire of Evil" has not yet been totally eliminated. We are starting from the premise that the gradual advance toward a world without weapons must begin by reducing the Armed Forces to the level of defensive minimum. Naturally, such reductions of unilateral character are not unlimited....

[Interviewer] Will the professional officers completely lose their jobs if the current tendency to reduce armed forces and weapons becomes irreversible?

[Sukhorukov] Well, the question itself may be asked. However, I think that it still is too early to talk about the elimination of the military professions. Despite the stereotype, according to which all military are conservatives, I would like to point out that I, as a general and father, subscribe to turning this tendency into a natural law. Unfortunately, not everything in the world is perfect, hence the need of continuing the existence of our profession—defenders of the motherland.

UN Human Rights Commmission Ends in Geneva

LD1303212489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev video report presented by international commentator Vladimir Molchanov]

[Excerpts] [Molchanov] The world is broadly discussing our practical steps to create a state based on the rule of law, in particular the USSR's recognition of the obligatory jurisdiction of the International Court on the interpretation and adoption of a number of conventions on human rights, which was actively discussed at the annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission which has ended in Geneva:

[Dmitriyev] The purpose of the commission's work and that of its special committees is to monitor the fulfillment of international pacts adopted by the United Nations on the basis of the General Declaration on Human Rights, pacts which embody the ideals of freedom of the individual and of peoples, and the universal norms of human society. [passage omitted]

At the session the Soviet representatives briefed the commission in detail about the practical steps being taken to create a state based on the rule-of-law in the USSR and about the democratization of life in our society. [passage omitted]

[F.I. Stanevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation, shown talking to the camera with correspondent present] The problem is that a general understanding of human rights has still not been permanently agreed on. There are difficulties connected with the different approaches of countries in the sphere of human rights that arise from different traditions, which sometimes go back centuries. Then there are the artificial aspects—myths, frenzied propaganda, and psychological warfare. Sometimes the question is put in a general way—is cooperation possible in a sphere which is so densely entangled in ideology? I am convinced that it is, and the session of the UN Human Rights Commission which has just ended has once again proved this. It has proved that, despite all the difficulties and complexities which were evident at this session, a businesslike, civilized discussion on human rights matters is perfectly realistic, just as the working out of documents which protect the individual is realistic. [video shows shots of delegates in session and Stanevskiy's interview]

Delegates on Work of Commission

PM1303143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Professors K.F. Gutsenko, Yu.M. Kolosov, and Ye. Lukashova by own correspondent Yu. Kosinskiy in Geneva under the rubric "On the Human Rights Issue": "Serious Differences No Longer Exist"; date not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Geneva—In connection with the 45th annual session of the UN Human Rights Commission which has just ended here, your correspondent has met with members of the USSR delegation—a group of legal experts comprising Professor K.F. Gutsenko, holder of the Moscow State University Law Department chair of criminal procedure; Professor Yu.M. Kolosov; and Professor Ye.A. Lukashova, head of the human rights section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law, to discuss the session's results.

[Kosinskiy] For 6 weeks the session participants worked hard, examining human rights problems, tackling many overdue questions connected with the violation of these rights or the absence of conditions for compliance with them, and discussing prospects for the development of international cooperation in this sphere. What, in your view, is the main result of the session which has just ended? Is it possible to talk about new approaches or shifts in the solution of long-standing "chronic problems"?

[Ye. Lukashova] The session was marked by a switch from the sharp confrontation which used to characterize the debates in this UN organ to constructive dialogue and an effort by the participants to understand one another better. It was no accident that a number of the delegates' speeches noted the universal character of human rights problems and their significance for mankind as a whole. A new development is the recognition by the delegations of a number of West European countries of the equivalence and equal status of two categories of human rights—political and civil rights, and economic, social, and cultural rights.

[K. Gutsenko] I go along with that. However, it still is not possible to talk about a radical breakthrough in the commission's work or an irreversible triumph of the new political thinking in it. As desirable as that would be, we clearly have a long way to go to achieve it. We and the representatives of other countries, especially the Western countries, still have a great deal to learn. They still have not rid themselves of their desire to lecture others on how they should live and try to foist on them their standards in the human rights sphere. They are still calling on the Soviet Union to prove its commitment to the observance of human rights while suppressing their own problems in this sphere.

[Kosinskiy] The annual human rights forum at the Geneva Palace of Nations took place this year in conditions of an appreciable thaw in the international climate. Furthermore, expectations of positive results at the session were based on shifts achieved in the human rights sphere at the Vienna meeting. To what extent were you, as participants in the session, aware of the impact of these factors and the way they were reflected in the delegates' mood, their stances, and the adopted resolutions?

[Yu. Kolosov] I also attended the Vienna meeting of CSCE participants. In Vienna cooperation in the humanitarian sphere is being discussed only with reference to

European states, the United States, and Canada. The commission discusses these problems on a global scale. I was not aware of any direct impact from the Vienna meeting on the work of the session. At the same time, the general thaw in the international climate was noticeable, but not to such an extent as to influence the states' official stances in the course of the debates at the Palace of Nations.

[K. Gutsenko] I have taken part in the work of the commission for many years. There are now considerably fewer reciprocal attacks based on deliberately biased exaggerations or obvious falsification of individual facts. Instead, spheres have emerged in which states belonging to different sociopolitical systems can find a common language and engage in fruitful cooperation. An example of this is the completion of a draft convention on children's rights. It was approved unanimously at the session which has just ended. When the convention has been adopted by the UN General Assembly, it will be made available for signing by states.

[Kosinskiy] It is no secret that until quite recently assessments of the Soviet stance in the human rights sphere at UN commission sessions were presented in our press in a traditionally positive light, and even constructive criticism of the problems and shortcomings in our country was suppressed. Are we now ready to make a more self-critical assessment? Was any criticism or censure leveled at us at the session, and if so, what specifically did it refer to, and how fair and objective was it?

[Ye. Lukashova] I believe that we are ridding ourselves of complacency in assessing the human rights situation in our country. Our delegation frankly stated this at the session. It is not just the international treaties on human rights to which the USSR is a party which oblige us to do so, but also the process of democratization and the reform of the political, legal, and economic systems being implemented in our country. The improvement of the individual's legal position and the expansion of his rights and freedoms are an inalienable part of restructuring. As distinct from the recent past, today we ourselves are better aware than others of our shortcomings, and vigorous efforts to rectify them are already under way and must be continued.

[K. Gutsenko] I would like to add that many items on the commission's agenda harmonize with and are highly relevant to our domestic affairs. It is well known that the Soviet news media have in recent years been paying much attention to improving the organization and activities of the law enforcement organs and to criticism of those organs. IZVESTIYA, too, has reported on this subject more than once....

[Kosinskiy] Europe is getting ready for a whole series of international forums on human rights and humanitarian questions, one of which is to be held in Moscow in 1991. What tasks will our country have to resolve in the course of preparations for that forum?

[Ye. Lukashova] I believe that preparations for international humanitarian conferences must proceed in two directions—theoretical and practical. In the theoretical sphere integrated approaches to the solution of global human rights issues have to be elaborated so that a universal concept of human rights as applicable to all mankind can be formulated on this basis. In the practical sphere Soviet legislation needs to be brought into line with international standards, and in particular with the Vienna meeting final document. For instance, the procedure for entry and exit from the Soviet Union and legislation pertaining to freedom of conscience and religious association need to be improved, guarantees of the right of freedom of opinion and persuasion and the right to information need to be strengthened, and some other issues need to be resolved.

[Yu. Kolosov] It would be good if as much as possible could be achieved in the sphere of the effective provision of human rights in the economic and social sphere before the humanitarian conference opens in Moscow. I have in mind the right to an adequate living standard and the highest possible standards in the sphere of health care, provision of housing, and so forth.

[Kosinskiy] What similarities and what differences were manifest at the session in the approach to solving human rights problems in the world?

[Yu. Kolosov] Briefly, everyone without exception agrees that human rights and the interests of the individual must form the basis of states' domestic and foreign policy. Nor were there any differences on the question that the observance of human rights is a substantial factor in present-day international relations. The differences were manifest in two spheres. First, in the assessment of the situation of human rights in individual countries. Here the influence of politics, bloc allegiances, alliance relations, and the special interests of countries in various regions is still strong. Second, not all delegations take account of the various countries' specific features of national, historical, and economic development.

[Kosinskiy] Can it be said that, following Vienna, the participants in the session just ended have managed to reach a new level, to take a new step toward a real improvement of international cooperation in the human rights sphere?

[Ye. Lukashova] It is difficult to speak of new levels here. It is unquestionable that the Vienna meeting gave a powerful impetus to the development of international cooperation in the human rights sphere. However, what is needed in this question are constant efforts, a permanent dialogue, and systematic contacts. The UN Commission on Human Rights is the approriate forum for this.

[Kosinskiy] There were many scientific representatives in the Soviet delegation. To what extent was their presence useful?

[K. Gutsenko] The human rights sphere, just as any other sphere of jurisprudence, does not tolerate amateurism; it demands high professionalism. The elaboration of expert recommendations requires a scientific approach. In this respect it is difficult to overestimate the course on which we have embarked in recent years of involving scientific jurists in the work of Soviet delegations to official diplomatic forums. It must be noted that all the delegations at the session listened attentively to the experts' opinions, no matter what country they came from. Work in the commission and similar forums is also necessary for our scientists, since such participation makes it possible to enrich Soviet legal theory and provides a basis for future initiatives.

International Parliamentarians Group in Moscow

Dobrynin Receives Delegation

LD0903203389 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on Thursday received a delegation of the international organisation, Parliamentarians for Global Action, led by Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, chairman of this organisation's executive committee and finance minister of Iceland.

They discussed questions pertaining to the realization of the idea, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, of creating a comprehensive system of international security, a nuclear weapons-free world, and banning nuclear weapons tests as an important step on this road.

Lukyanov Receives Group

LD1003124589 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS—USSR First Vice President Anatoliy Lukyanov received a delegation from "Parliamentarians Global Action for Disarmament, Development and World Reform" in the Kremlin on Friday.

The delegation, invited to the Soviet Union by the USSR parliamentary group, is led by Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, Iceland's finance minister and member of parliament.

Lukyanov told the parliamentarians about reforms in all areas of Soviet society. He said that new political thinking, oriented to the recognition of the priority of common human values, underlies the approach to the solution of such global problems as ending the arms race, removing the growing environmental threat, and solving the most important problems in major areas of world economic relations.

The vice president drew the delegation's attention to the constructive proposals on disarmament, security and development, advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his address to the United Nations.

Lukyanov said that the growing peace-making role of the U.N. and efforts by parliamentarians in various countries, parliamentary organisations and public movements can help the international community cope with menacing challenges of the times and democratise and humanise international relations.

Delegation members spoke about their organisation's initiatives toward a ban on nuclear testing, nuclear non-proliferation, the improvement of the world situation, the enhancement of the role of the U.N. in achieving global security, specifically through peace-making operations, and the establishment of a fair international economic order.

During the discussion of environmental issues, both sides said that it is only on a collective basis and in conditions of peace that the development and successful implementation of a global environmental protection strategy is possible.

The meeting, which was held in a friendly and informal atmosphere, was also attended by Anatoliy Dobrynin, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Council of Nationalities, and Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister.

World Environment Information Conference Opens

LD1303120089 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—A world conference on environment information exchange opened in Moscow on Monday. It drew scientists and experts from more than a hundred countries.

The participants in the conference will exchange experience of spreading information about the environment and work out a strategy of action for the next decade.

Among the tasks are the introduction of modern information technologies including electronic mail, satellite, and other new types of communication and use of micro-computers to process incoming and outgoing information.

Soviet Official on Threat to Ozone Layer

PM1003124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Krivopalov dispatch: "In London—on the Ozone Layer"]

[Excerpts] London—A conference held under the slogan "Saving the Ozone Layer" has ended in London's Queen Elizabeth II Center. The authoritative international forum, opened by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher, gathered representatives from approximately 120 countries. Many leaders of government departments responsible for environmental conservation, prominent scientists, and large industrialists participated in it. [passage omitted]

After the London forum I talked with V.M. Zakharov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and leader of the Soviet delegation.

"This conference was undoubtedly of interest," Professor V.M. Zakharov said, "if only because approximately 120 representatives of government organizations, including 80 ministers, participated in its work. Great attention was devoted to the ozone layer and, accordingly, to the Vienna convention, which so far has been ratified by only 30 states, and the Montreal protocol, which develops this convention's thesis. It specifically indicates the quantities of ozone-destroying substances to be reduced and the timetables for this. It should at once be pointed out that the USSR participated right from the start in drawing up both the Vienna convention and the Montreal protocol. We were among the first to ratify both these international documents. We have always drawn attention to the fact that any decision to protect the ozone layer must be adopted on the basis of well-grounded scientific data. We are ready to take any joint steps that are scientifically substantiated. I say this because it is impossible to resolve this task through the efforts of a single state or even a group of highly developed industrial countries. We must pool our efforts and exchange new technologies and alternative substances freely and in a most open way. It is a common problem. Governments, parliaments, scientists, industrialists, and public organizations and individual citizens must participate in preserving the ozone layer."

Lukyanov Meets Tourist Organization Head

LD1303210189 Moscow TASS in English 1229 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 13 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, an alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Politburo and first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received the visiting secretary-general of the World Tourist Organisation, Willibald Pahr, in Moscow on Monday.

Pahr told him about the basic goals of his organisation and the forthcoming international parliamentary conference on tourism, slated to be held in the first half of next month under the aegis of the Interparliamentary Union and the World Tourist Organisation.

Lukyanov said that international tourist exchanges involving millions of people on all continents are an important aspect of humanitarian and cultural cooperation and should help acquaint people with other nation's life and experience and foster an atmosphere of trust and mutual understanding in relations between them in the interest of strengthening world peace.

It was pointed out that in the framework of the World Tourist Organisation and other international organisations it is essential to find new and effective forms of interaction and make cooperation in this field ever more substantial and instrumental in the search for common ground between national and universal interests in the spirit of new political thinking.

United States & Canada

Bush 'Cold War' Military Rhetoric Questioned

PM1403095389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by S. Sidorov under the rubric "Military-Political Commentary": "Will There Be Surprises?"]

[Text] The persistence with which U.S. President G. Bush repeats in his speeches and interviews the postulates of the "cold war" period, formulated at a different time and by other presidents, looks strange at the very least. Statements by the White House chief on his belief in the possibility of historic changes in relations with the Soviet Union in connection with the new dynamism in Soviet-U.S. relations sometimes combine oddly with maxims that have nothing in common with today's realities.

The President's recent speech at the annual conference of the U.S. conservative organization Veterans of Foreign Wars can serve as one example of this. It was devoted to the basic directions of Washington's policy in the national security sphere. Forced to recognize the changes taking place in the world, and also the necessity of "active efforts in the arms control sphere," the White House chief nonetheless couched his speech in the traditional spirit of military-strategic confrontation.

As G. Bush claimed, it would be a mistake to think that a "more stable international environment" is evidence of the possibility of reducing military spending. In his opinion, the United States must in the future also "maintain and modernize its nuclear and conventional forces" with all the means at its disposal, and also do everything possible to turn its "technological advantages into a source of advantages in the security sphere, including vigorous efforts aimed at implementing SDI."

The former claims to world domination are sufficiently clearly discernible in the U.S. President's speech. Calls to increase military muscle are accompanied by that same thesis on "peace from a position of strength": "Today America is strong, its voice is heard... The secret of our success will be assessed in one word—strength." From the same premise Bush derives the United States' "right" to choose the ways to resolve international conflicts—the diplomatic way or the military way. Moreover, according to Bush it is considered possible to resort to military force wherever and whenever the United States considers it necessary.

As can be seen, Washington understands common sense in its own way. But it is no secret that in the past the pursuit of the specter of military superiority over the USSR never gave the United States the "advantages in the security sphere" that it expected. And it is hardly reasonable to count on these advantages in the future. It is unrealistic to build relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of infringing on its security interests. It will not permit this: The lessons that have imprinted themselves deeply in the Soviet people's historical memory are too painful.

The time and audience for the U.S. President's next "programmatic" speech have been chosen deliberately. The halfway mark has been passed in the 3-month period set by Bush for a review of foreign policy. The desire of the new administration and its chief to send a signal of loyalty at this time to conservative circles who have done much to make the present White House boss what he is is quite understandable. The accentuated categorical nature of the tone appeals above all to the "hawks," for tension in relations with the Soviet Union has always been profitable for U.S. conservative forces. In this sense Bush's political "flexibility" does him credit.

But the inertia in thinking and the adherence to old approaches that cannot fail to arouse legitimate fears in Soviet people are capable of bringing about a quite embarrassing situation. The "novelties" and "surprises" on the results of the review of Soviet-U.S. relations promised by G. Bush at one of his news conferences may simply not materialize.

Bush-Arens Meeting Yields No Final Positions

LD1403095289 Moscow TASS in English 0821 GMT 14 Mar 89

["Bush-Arens Meeting Yields Few Results"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington March 14 TASS—After a White House meeting with President George Bush, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens stated that they did not come to any final or definite positions on ways toward a peace settlement in the Middle East.

"I think that it is, probably, untimely to expect this at the present stage", Arens added, responding to questions by reporters right after the end of the meeting with the President.

According to the minister, he discussed with President Bush the possibility of a coordinated stance by Israel and the United States on ways toward a Middle East settlement. Arens stressed, however, that at the talks with Secretary of State James Baker and President Bush he was not asked to make any changes in Israel's position on a Middle East settlement.

The Israeli Government is known to oppose convocation under UN sponsorship of any international conference on the Middle East involving all parties concerned, and insists on conducting direct negotiations with Arab countries.

U.S. Trying To Enter Soviet Defense Computers
LD1303144289 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 13 TASS—The United States secret services are making regular attempts to enter Soviet Union's and other countries' defence computer systems. The American weekly magazine TIME reported on Monday that these indulge in electronic espionage, and the Central Intelligence Agency. [sentence as received]

According to the magazine, which refers to anonymous former U.S. Government officials, the American secret service have been experimenting with "computer viruses" to destroy the electronic systems of other countries. But have gone too far, TIME magazine revealed.

'Great Interest' in U.S. in Soviet CFE Offer
PM1303115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Lack of Objectivity. United States Assesses Soviet Proposals Advanced in Vienna."]

[Excerpt] Washington—However warm Soviet-U.S. relations may be at any particular time, there are always people on the Potomac ready to blacken the USSR. But if the extreme right-wing WASHINGTON TIMES writes of "the Soviets' new approach," then it seems to me that something is changing here nonetheless.

For all the White House desire to belittle the significance of the Vienna speech of E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, the Soviet proposals he set forth have aroused great interest here. THE NEW YORK TIMES has pointed out that "administration specialists are inclined to regard the Soviet bloc's proposals as opening up prospects for serious talks."

"The West presupposed that the talks would be protracted. We must not think like this. The Soviets want the talks to be crowned with success." This opinion of Pentagon consultant Phillip Karber [name as transliterated] is remarkable because it seems to me to combine both critical analysis and hope, which is what the Washington authorities lack. There is an obvious lack of objectivity among them—a fact that can in no way escape the notice of serious analysts. [passage omitted]

* U.S. Immigration Laws for Soviet Jews Viewed
WA18070549 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 10, 8 Mar 89 p 9

[Report by Novosti correspondent Edgar Cheporov: "Once Again on Jewish Emigration"]

[Text] New York—**Hearings are to begin soon in the U.S. Congress on granting refugee status to emigres from the USSR. But discussion of this problem has only just begun.** This is the appeal published recently in the New York newspaper NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO: "Dear Friends. You are probably aware of the difficult position in which new emigres from the Soviet Union find themselves when stuck in Italy because of the sudden change in the policy of the United States immigration service. Disregarding the obvious facts of persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, workers in the immigration service are refusing to grant many families political refugee status, which at one time was granted with almost no difficulties. Those who have obtained exit visas on the basis of direct appeals from the United States but who for one reason or another have not yet been able to travel from the Soviet Union are finding themselves in the worst position."

Beneath this appeal signed by the "initiative group" there follows a letter in English. The author of the appeal recommends that it be cut out, signed, and sent to one's congressman and senators.

What is the letter about? It states that in Italy 700 Soviet Jews have been refused refugee status and that many of those refusals have come from the American Consulate in Moscow. Without being granted that status they cannot "participate in the democratic process" and are becoming "second-class citizens." In this case, I read further down, there is no point in leaving the USSR, for there they have already "experienced for themselves the situation of being a second-class citizen."

According to the indignant authors of the appeal, the U.S. immigration service is refusing to grant them refugee status, on the basis that they have provided "insufficiently convincing evidence of persecution." This stance being taken by the department must be recognized as profoundly erroneous since "Soviet Jews have been persecuted in all aspects of cultural, economic and political life in Soviet society." And in the era of glasnost, it states, nothing has changed.

In the era of glasnost the number of those emigrating from the USSR, including Jews, has increased. Many more people have also obtained U.S. visas as refugees. Here are the figures quoted to me by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. In 1986 some 744 persons left the USSR for the United States as refugees; in 1987 the figure was 3,600; and in 1988 it was 18,000. THE WASHINGTON POST writes that "since under M. Gorbachev the Soviet Union has relaxed emigration restrictions, entry into the United States has been made difficult by American legal and economic barriers." It was precisely at this time that in the political lexicon the old word "refusenik" was replaced by a new one—"waitnik."

Last summer the U.S. Administration for the first time set quotas on the number of refugees from the Soviet Union—18,000 annually. Previously all immigrants from the USSR were automatically treated as refugees. Jewish organizations launched protests. Then the U.S.

Attorney General Dick Thornburgh announced that a temporary rule will enable an additional 2,000 persons monthly to go the the United States from the USSR. But they would not be considered refugees.

The protests continued and the step proposed by the attorney general was perceived by those supporting increased emigration from the USSR almost as an abrogation by the authorities of the "civil rights struggle." In response, after reducing the number of "vacancies" for refugee status for persons from a number of Asian countries, Washington added 7,000 for those about to leave the Soviet Union. But even these steps failed to satisfy.

And so it is a question of entry into the United States by immigrants, refugees, and persons included in the 2,000 announced by Dick Thornburgh. What is the difference between them?

"An immigrant," an official representative of the INS, (Dick Austin), told me, "is a person who is sponsored by relatives or by application from an employer. When this occurs it costs the state nothing. Refugees are those who under the 1980 law are able to show that in their homeland they can expect "persecution, or have serious cause to fear persecution" for racial, religious, or political reasons. This law, naturally, applies not only to Soviet persons but is universal. This year at least 90,000 refugees plan to enter the United States. Of these, 25,000 will be persons leaving the Soviet Union. A system of benefits has been set up for refugees, and they have the right to apply for U.S. citizenship. Some Soviet Jews have been unable to prove grounds for their fears. Their claims have been rejected."

"Has this happened because of the new legislation?"

"No, the law has not changed. The only change is that we are now looking more carefully than previously at requests for refugee status and concerning ourselves with a greater number of details having to do with the personality of the applicant. But all is not lost for those who are unable to travel to the United States as refugees. They can come here among those additionally admitted in accordance with what the attorney general stated. True, these people will receive no help from the state and will not be paid for their journey to their place of residence. Moreover, their status will not permit them to count on being granted American citizenship. And their permission to stay in the country is for an indefinite time."

On the subject of emigration from the USSR, in particular Jewish emigration, there is yet another facet, namely, U.S. relations with Israel. The fact is that Soviet Jews are going to Israel but are being refused by other countries, mainly the United States. What is Tel Aviv's attitude toward this? THE WASHINGTON POST writes that "Israel claims that it has the right to insist that Soviet Jews emigrate only to Israel since they are permitted to leave with Israeli visas." What has dictated the desire to attract to Israel as many Jewish emigres as possible? This is how that same newspaper answers this: "... Israel wants to take as many people as possible so as to increase its population because the country is surrounded by hostile and densely populated Arab countries, and moreover there are many Arabs in Israel itself."

Zaykov Meets U.S. Children Studying in Moscow

LD1303234689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newcast]

[Excerpts] According to the program of Soviet-U.S. exchanges, U.S. schoolchildren are living and studying in Moscow today. Today they had a meeting at the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee.

[Correspondent S. Starodomskaya] It may be said with confidence that up to now there has never been a such a gathering of U.S. teenagers in this hall. Indeed, schoolchildren from the United States had never before sat down at the same desks with their Soviet counterparts. We recall that it was quite recently that pupils from Moscow schools spent a month in the United States. So, such exchanges could become a good tradition. This was the subject of a meeting with Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov and the city's mayor, Comrade Saykin. The U.S. schoolchildren, of course, focus a lot of attention to studies in school, but no less interest than in how Soviet people live. [passage omitted]

There was also the following, quite natural question: If an American girl and a young Soviet boy fall in love, what would your attitude be?

[Zaykov] I, for example, would have a positive attitude. If you're in love, get married. Our laws also permit this. [passage omitted] [video shows meeeting, Zaykov and Yagodin speaking]

Yakovlev Signs Joint Contract on Moscow Theater

LD1303234589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

(Text] Comrade Yakovlev today received Morris, president of the board of the U.S. VMS [expansion unknown] firm, and (Denshtein), chairman of the board of the Canadian (Saabeck) Group, in connection with the signing of an agreement creating a joint enterprise for the construction of an international theater center in Moscow.

China

Perm, Shenyang Sign Cooperation Agreements
LD1403100689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Perm and the Chinese town of Shenyang have come closer together: A 5-year agreement on bilateral ties has been concluded between them. In the immediate future Chinese specialists and workers will start building an ambulance center in the town on the Kama. A contract has been concluded between the (Usan) combine and the Lenin machine-building works on technical cooperation. A protocol was signed by representatives of Shenyang Automation Institute of the PRC Academy of Sciences and the (Parma) scientific production association in Perm on acquiring a large batch of modern computer technology. [sentence as heard] A reciprocal exchange of consumer goods is also planned. There are plans for later this year to open a Chinese restaurant and a color photography service in Perm.

PRC-Indonesia Ties in SE Asia's Interest
OW1103172089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 4 Mar 89

[(Klezunov) commentary]

[Text] Dear friends, while I was preparing this program I came across some press reports from Southeast Asia, and learned that the decision of China and Indonesia to establish normal relations has aroused wide attention. This step is considered to conform to the interests of China and Indonesia, as well as the entire Southeast Asia region.

I have discussed this issue with station commentator (Klezunov). Like most observers in Southeast Asian countries, he considers the absence of official diplomatic relations between China and Indonesia an anomaly that is not in keeping with the requirements of our times. The following is a short commentary he wrote concerning this issue:

Indonesia recognized the PRC in 1950. For the next 15 years, the two countries maintained cordial and friendly relations. However, since Jakarta denounced Beijing for involvement in the tragic incidents of September 1965, relations between the two countries suddenly turned sour. In 1967 China and Indonesia announced a temporary freeze in their relations, which were not completely broken off. Several years later, the two sides resumed trade relations through Hong Kong and Singapore. This seriously hampered the development of mutually beneficial trade links between the two countries. In 1985 China and Indonesia decided to restore direct trade between them. Trade volume between the two countries this year is expected to reach $1 billion.

In recent years senior Chinese and Indonesian officials have held informal meetings to discuss the prospects for normalizing relations between the two countries. However, some forces within the Indonesian leadership, especially the military, dismissed the need to restore diplomatic relations with China. A few days ago, some progress was finally made.

Observers maintain that universal relaxation of the international situation has exerted a favorable impact. In their view, after normalization of relations, China and Indonesia can work more effectively to promote the mediation of conflicts in Cambodia. Of the ASEAN nations, Brunei and Singapore still have not established diplomatic relations with China. Singapore leaders have declared that Singapore will establish diplomatic relations with China after Sino-Indonesian relations are normalized. Singapore Deputy Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong spoke several days ago, welcoming the Sino-Indonesian agreement to restore diplomatic relations, adding that this agreement will help establish stability in Southeast Asia.

In Jakarta it was announced that the specific date for implementing this agreement will be decided through discussion of the technicalities. Negotiations will be held in New York this autumn at the level of permanent representatives to the United Nations or the foreign ministerial level.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. 'Very Much Involved' in Philippine 'Squables'
HK1403053589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Aleksander Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] In the Philippines recently, former Colonel Reynaldo Cabauatan, the leader of an unsuccessful attempt to topple the government of Corazon Aquino, was arrested. This prompted the president to declare that Cabauatan's arrest has added to the country's stability. However, our commentator Aleksander Vladimirov says that the complicated problem facing the Philippine Government involving rightist extremist officials in the Armed Forces still remains.

In this regard, Gregorio Gringo Honasan occasionally sends ultimatums to the government, some of which have circulated again recently. The former colonel is the well-known organizer of the 1987 coup d'etat that was the boldest attempt yet against the stability of the present Philippine administration. In his latest letter, Honasan demanded the ouster of several supporters of Corazon Aquino and the creation of what he called a "crisis transitional government." Honasan threatened to launch widespread attacks if his demands are not met.

Many observers agree that Honasan's present maneuver is part of a continuing campaign to destabilize the government of Corazon Aquino and to discredit or blacken its avowed principles and efforts. It is obvious that the rightists' stand is one that flouts Philippine laws. In a recent pronouncement by Congressman Cojuangco, he declared that present moves against the present regime are being instigated by various foreign forces. Cojuangco pointed out that an agency has been set up in Washington that aims to dissolve the Philippine Congress and organize a military conspiracy against the present regime.

The official Washington line, however, is that it continues to support Aquino's administration. This was declared by George Bush when he met Corazon Aquino in Tokyo during the funeral of Japanese Emperor Hirohito. However, Philippine and foreign media provide enough evidence to give one pause.

Is the position of the United States vis-a-vis the Philippines really this simple? Other truths have also emerged from the 1987 revolt launched by Honasan and Cabauatan. Journalists discovered that officials connected with the U.S. Embassy in the Philippines were involved with that rebel uprising. The weapons used by the rebels came from the American military bases. Honasan himself escaped from detention by means of a helicopter used only in the bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field. The PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER reported that during that revolt the rebels were accompanied by an American Embassy military attache named (Derek Fowler). And another American official, Victor Rafael, was seen trying to dissuade soldiers loyal to President Aquino from attacking. A diplomatic scandal involving Rafael almost erupted, but this was avoided when the Americans moved him out of the Philippines.

There have been other, similar incidents. But what exactly are the motives of the rightist elements in the Philippines who are organizing campaigns against the Aquino government? For an answer, one must listen to the voices of the people and the nationalists. Many of them, such as Congressman Abad, have said it is obvious that the military establishment will try to grab power as nationalist moves for the dismantling of the U.S. bases mount. During the past 2-3 years, more and more members of Congress and other government officials have been calling for the removal of the bases. They uphold the antinuclear provision in the Constitution that makes the retention of the American bases illegal—these bases which serve as the Pentagon's prime nuclear installation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Philippine Senate has approved a draft law that bans the launching and deployment of nuclear warheads at the Subic and Clark bases, but the Philippine panel negotiating with the United States did not press the latter too hard on this issue. Many people and nationalists are strongly urging that the American bases be turned into alternative facilities for livelihood projects. It is obvious that this demand is a valid one.

According to Washington, this is what will happen. Not long ago, an article in the Japanese magazine (GUDZIMINRON) scrutinized the activities of Honasan and his colleagues. It said the U.S. is engaged in plots to counter moves against the retention of its bases in the Philippines. As Filipino Congressman Garduz has said, Washington is gambling on the military in order to gain its objectives. All this has been manifested in internal squabbles in the Philippines, and in the fierce debates between those supporting and those opposed to the foreign military bases.

Because of their great interest in retaining their bases, this particular foreign power is very much involved in these intrigues. This can sometimes be gleaned from unfounded reports in the newspapers that the U.S. bases in the Asia-Pacific region guarantee internal and regional stability. This is a lie. These bases in the Philippines serve as a continuing threat to national unity. They are being used to sow discord and encourage divisions among the country's various political forces.

U.S. Aid to Cambodian Rebels Criticized

BK1403045389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Aleksey Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK], has warned the United States against stepping up military aid to the Cambodian opposition led by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann. At a recent meeting in Phnom Penh with a delegation of the U.S. Council for Foreign Relations, a non-governmental organization that follows U.S. foreign policy, Comrade Hun Sen said the United States misunderstands the actual situation in Cambodia. The boosting of military aid to the Cambodian opposition is nothing but a new scheme against the PRK. Our commentator, Comrade Aleksey Nikolayev, has the following comments:

It is understood that the United States plans to provide aid to Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Son Sann, who want to reinforce their armies in the face of the danger posed by the Pol Pot group. There is evidence confirming Khmer Rouge attacks against Samdech Sihanouk's and Son Sann's groups. So the story about the opposition's union is a pure fabrication and many more will come.

It is worth recalling that the Jakarta Informal Meeting [JIM] on the Cambodian problem reaffirmed that the key elements for settlement of the Cambodian problem are the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and prevention of the recurrence of the Pol Pot regime. Moreover, the noninterference in Cambodia's internal affairs and the termination of military aid to the opposition were also considered necessary. Undoubtedly, these points are the determining factors for a settlement of the external aspects of the Cambodian problem.

The United States, which plans to supply arms to the opposition, also realizes this. But Washington seems to want to pour oil on the flames of conflict. A U.S. State Department spokesman recently reiterated that they would increase aid to the noncommunist resistance forces in Cambodia. And according to a report from Bangkok, the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker sent a letter to his Thai counterpart, Sitthi Sawetsila, revealing a plan to enlarge aid to the Cambodian opposition, while Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's son Ranaritth, who is the commander of the Samdech's armed forces, is visiting the United States. THE NEW YORK TIMES disclosed that the key topic in the negotiations is nothing less than the issue of the U.S. military aid.

Increased aid will merely render the conflict more serious and damage the JIM agreement. This is against the aspirations of the Cambodian and Southeast Asian peoples, as well as those of all the parties concerned. As a Vietnamese daily has pointed out, the U.S. Administration should instead provide positive contributions to expanding dialogues with the aim of resolving the Cambodian problem.

Resumed SRV-PRC Trade Will Promote Ties

PM1303161989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Correspondent V. Vinogradov dispatch under the rubric "On the Spot Report": "The White Dove—a Symbol of Accord"]

[Excerpts] Hanoi—Border trade has been resumed between neighboring provinces of Vietnam and China. Once again, just as in the good old times, the numerous mountain tribes that have similar traditions and customs and close cultural and economic ties can communicate directly and trade with each other, passing through border posts and strips of no-man's-land that until recently were bristling with mines. [passage omitted]

Many complex problems still exist between the two countries. There is great interest at present in political contacts, and specifically in the upcoming second visit to Beijing of Dinh Nho Liem, SRV vice minister of foreign affairs, scheduled to take place in mid-March. As Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, has said, Vietnam is ready to resolve all controversial issues by means of negotiations. Unquestionably, the restoration of good-neighborly relations between Chinese and Vietnamese border provinces will serve as a good basis for the successful outcome of these negotiations.

Near East & South Asia

Jalalabad Fighting, Opposition Diplomacy Viewed

PM1303164589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service roundup: "Afghanistan: Stubborn Fighting and Diplomatic Maneuvering"]

[Text] The situation in the Jalalabad region—the center of Nangarhar Province where fierce fighting has been in progress in the past few days between government troops and intransigent opposition detachments—remains tense. The mujahidin have been mounting a continuous missile and artillery attack on the city, although, judging by news agency reports, the detachments storming Jalalabad have not managed to make any significant progress. The statement Friday by Rasul Sayyaf, "prime minister" of the mujahidin government, that the opposition forces have captured part of Jalalabad and forced the city's defenders to leave the territory of the airport have still not been confirmed by a single independent source.

According to a REUTER report, Afghan Army General 'Abdul Haq Ulumi, head of the Najibullah government's Armed Forces Committee, met with journalists in Kabul. He conceded that throughout the war the fighting has not been as bloody or as fierce as the battle for Jalalabad.

The general stated that in the past week opposition detachments have lost around 2,000 men killed in the Jalalabad region. According to his estimate the total number of mujahidin forces in this section of the front is around 14,000.

'Ulumi gave an assurance that troops loyal to the government retain control over Jalalabad and that the city's airport is continuing to function. He also denied reports of the death of General Najib Ahmad, commander in chief of the republic's Armed Forces in Nangarhar Province.

Meanwhile, the opposition representatives based in Peshawar City in Pakistan have stated that during the fighting against government troops mujahidin detachments captured two fortified positions in the Jalalabad suburbs. Citing the same sources, AFP reports that the rebels, using a Stinger missile, shot down an Afghan Air Force plane that was bombing enemy positions in the city's outskirts.

The past few days have been marked by increased diplomatic activity by both the mujahidin and the Islamic states supporting them. This is because on 13 March a session of the Islamic Conference opens in the Saudi capital and the Pakistani, Iranian, and Saudi authorities are hoping to secure the Muslim states' recognition of the mujahidin government.

The first to recognize this government, as we have already reported, was Saudi Arabia. The Republic of Afghanistan Foreign Ministry has issued a statement in this connection, protesting Riyadh's interference in the country's internal affairs and the incitement of the mujahidin to prolong the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

Saudi Arabia was followed in its recognition of the mujahidin government by Sudan. (Several hours after this report the teletypes carried fresh news—that the Sudanese Government had resigned en bloc).

As AFP reports, citing the opinion of diplomats in Islamabad, it is quite likely that the two countries that have recognized the mujahidin government will soon be joined by Malaysia, Egypt, and several other states.

According to the AFP report, the Afghan problem was the main one on the agenda at the talks in Tehran between Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan and Iran's leaders. The agency notes that Islamabad has sent several more envoys to Islamic capitals in an attempt to persuade the leaders of the Islamic Conference states to support the government proclaimed by the Afghan opposition.

News agencies report that G. Hikmatyar, the leader of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan"—the most extremist grouping in the "seven-member alliance"—who has been given the post of foreign minister in the mujahidin government, has also been on a foreign tour. Hikmatyar has visited Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq. Iraq's INA reports that during the talks in Baghdad Iraq confirmed its position that the Afghan conflict must be settled by peaceful means and dialogue.

Results of Afghan Fighting Noted; Talks Urged

PM1303160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Mar 89 Second Edition p 7

[Article by TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy for PRAVDA: "Confrontation: Fierce Fighting Continuing in Afghanistan Against Intransigent Opposition Forces"]

[Text] Kabul—The following concise lines are from summaries of operations by the Republic of Afghanistan Interior Ministry. "Paktia Province. Extremists shelled suburbs of Khowst and some Sarandoy posts. One soldier slightly wounded, two children and two women killed." "Qandahar Province. Ambush by soldiers of a Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces battalion resulted in interception of a weapons convoy. Thirteen rebels killed, and 24 missiles, 1 launcher, and antitank and antipersonnel mines captured." "On the Kabul to Ghazni highway extremists burned out a bus, five passengers killed." "In Kabul a man by the name of Shah Muhammad was arrested: He is unemployed and was carrying an unlicensed revolver. A search of his apartment revealed a cache of mines, homemade bombs, and subversive leaflets. The Ministry of State Security is investigating."

Each line conceals the real and bitter daily life of a country in the grip of war, a chronicle of suffering and deprivation, crime and treachery, blood and torment.

For the fourth day in a row missiles have been exploding in the area of Kabul International Airport. The firing is not always on target. Several missiles recently hit densely populated districts of mud-walled houses near the highway leading to the country's main airport: one man, two women, and a girl were killed. Today, according to the most modest estimates, more than three dozen missiles landed in the area where the airliners are parked; there are dead and wounded, and one of our Il-76s was hit, although the damage was slight.

VOA reported not without satisfaction that the regular bombardment of airports is being conducted on the orders of the leaders of the Peshawar "Seven," who have instructed the field commanders to cut off all the population's supply lines of food and essential goods by intensive shelling from heavy weapons.

Today the attention of all Afghanistan is focused on Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province. Fierce fighting is under way for the city, which is the country's third in size and importance. Around 15,000 fighters are massed there. Equipped with modern weapons, the intransigent opposition formations, mainly supporters of Hikmatyar and Khalis, have besieged Jalalabad for a week now, firing not only on government troop positions but also residential districts. The continuous attacks on the city are coordinated by foreign military advisers, primarily Pakistanis. Islamabad's militarist circles have allocated militia subunits to support the extremists and have assumed responsibility for supplying the mujahidin attackers with weapons and ammunition via helicopter airlifts.

The Afghan Army and units of the Ministries of the Interior and State Security have prevented the capture of the airport and are maintaining control of the Kabul-Jalalabad highway. The defenders of the city receive weapons, ammunition, and reinforcements along that road.

The situation remains grave, however. In Rawalpindi recently the "Seven-Member Alliance," under the watchful eye of the Pakistani secret services, formed a "government" to replace the "Kabul regime" after its "inevitable downfall," and it clearly intends to make every effort to install the hastily cobbled together "Cabinet" on Afghan soil and secure international recognition for it. That is why Jalalabad was chosen. When attempts to take the city by storm had little result, a cheap show involving a session of "ministers" was staged in a rebel-controlled village in Paktia Province near the Pakistani border.

The battle for Jalalabad is the first large-scale confrontation between the armed opposition and government forces since the completion of the Soviet units' withdrawal. And, evidently, it will not be the last. The very heavy losses incurred—in one week of combat actions more than 2,000 rebels have lost their lives on the Jalalabad plain and hundreds of pieces of combat hardware have been destroyed—do not deter the Peshawari gang leaders. They have gambled on seizing power in the country by playing on religious feelings and slogans such as "Struggle for the Purity of Islam."

"Fighters for the Purity of Islam" are recruited in the thousands in the refugee camps on Pakistan's territory and often by being rounded up. Without a penny to their name, a job, or prospects, many are ready to go to war for a decent financial reward, unthinkingly espousing slogans foisted on them by the spiritual fathers of the opposition whose blinkered fanaticism narrows the field of their political vision.

What is the solution to the bloodshed, the victims of which are peaceful civilians and all the Afghan people? Clearly it is repudiation of a monopoly of power by any one group. All the warring sides without exception must come to the negotiating table and, free of all external interference, resolve the problems facing the country and choose an authoritative transitional government that can prepare free elections. Those election results would determine the arrangement of forces in the country and the foundation on which could be built the stable political structure of the future nonaligned and sovereign Afghanistan on the basis of the expression of the will of all the people. That is what the Afghan Government is urging. I believe that this is the only rational way. Unfortunately, it is not accepted by the "intransigents." Therein lies the essence of the drama unfolding on Afghan soil.

Fighting Among Rebels; Kabul Air Bridge Resumes

LD1303211889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Commentator Molchanov] [passage omitted] In Herat Province, bloody fighting is going on between armed detachments of the Islamic Society of Afghanistan and the Islamic Party of Afghanistan opposition groups. Hundreds of people have been killed. India's PATRIOT newspaper notes that Pakistani interference in Afghan affairs is growing ever more dangerous, which is shattering hopes of a settlement to the Afghan problem. In this situation the air bridge between Kabul and the USSR border regions has again started operating.

[Correspondent A. Shkirando] This air bridge started operating while the limited contingent of Soviet troops was still in Afghanistan. Just a few days before the withdrawal, over 7,000 tonnes of flour and other essential consumer goods were delivered to the Afghan capital by Soviet transport aircraft. Unfortunately, since the last Soviet soldier left Kabul Airport, the Afghan extremists have been shelling the runway and technical services areas practically every day. Afghan 'Ariana' aircraft have been damaged. Two days ago, one of our aircraft, an IL-76, was also damaged by shell fragments. Because of the extremists' barbaric actions, the air bridge was temporarily halted.

It has resumed today, although it is true that the landing of aircraft will be accompanied not only by precise instructions from the flight control tower, but by artillery cover.

[Muhammed Naim Jusufzai, president of the "Afsotr" joint stock company, identified by caption, in vernacular fading into Russian translation] The arrival in Kabul of these two transport aircraft on the Aeroflot route shows that the Soviet Union intends to continue to render all-around assistance to our country. Many Afghans will be able tomorrow to buy rolls and hot cakes made from Soviet flour. This sincere assistance from our Soviet friends, which has been rendered to our country at the most difficult period, will never be forgotten. [video shows Afghan plane on runway, Soviet plane landing and being unloaded, sacks being loaded onto truck, air traffic controllers, interview with Afghan official]

Pakistan To Exploit Afghan Uranium in Confederation

NC1203133089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] According to a report in the Indian newspaper PATRIOT, the Pakistani espionage organization has set up a special committee which is engaged in analysis of the composition of strategic materials for implementing the country's nuclear program. Pakistani experts have reached the conclusion that the establishment of an Afghan-Pakistani confederation will prove extremely advantageous in this regard. With the confederation, the path for the utilization of Afghanistan's uranium would be opened up.

We may remind you that in July last year the Asian mass media reported that Western experts, including some from Israel, had infiltrated into Afghanistan and discovered uranium mines in the Jowzjan and Faryab provinces of Afghanistan. It may be recalled that the illegal use and smuggling of this strategic material began with the reports by Pakistan's espionage services and the participation of some members of the Hezb-e Eslami Party of Afghanistan headed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. The specially packaged uranium was transported to Pakistan through clandestine routes and on pack animals. Part of it was conveyed to Israel with the assistance of the Pakistani espionage services.

Meanwhile, the leaders of the country's (?opposition) organizations were unaware of Islamabad's anti-Afghan policy and this secret collusion, the price for which they were paying with their own blood. As a result, Tel Aviv purchased stolen uranium ore from Pakistan and Islamabad received arms and experts for an undeclared war against its neighbor. The Zionists also accorded special assistance to Pakistan to provide for its nuclear needs.

However, one day 'Aamer Akbar, [name as received] one of the commanders of the Hezb-e Eslami units, discovered the address to which the strategic raw material was to be sent in the district under his control and he then (?understood the matter). As is obvious, it was the address of the location of Israel's biggest nuclear center. 'Aamer Akbar drove out all the foreign experts from the area in which the uranium was being extracted and halted its production, because, according to him, uranium was being sent from there to the most wicked enemy of Islam and all the Muslims. It may be added that Washington, Israel's strategic ally, was the source of the arcane cooperation between the militarists of Islamabad and Tel Aviv.

Washington provides arms and funds to Israel and Pakistan. The U.S. FBI organization has allocated $100 million for the training of Afghan terrorists on Pakistani soil and for the undeclared war against their compatriots. As was reported by the Asian mass media, U.S. experts have recently shown immense interest in the natural wealth of the Afghan people, such as the mines of strategic raw materials and rare elements such as chromium, [word indistinct], vanadium. It may be asked whether Washington wishes to recover all its few million in expenses, which are being used for the support of the Afghan extremists on Pakistani soil and for economic and military aid to Pakistan, by means of a Pakistan-Afghan confederation.

In such circumstances, the confederation of Pakistan and Afghanistan would be beneficial for the Americans for other reasons as well. As is believed in Washington, the establishment of this confederation would help consolidate the U.S. position in South Asia and increase the possibilities for exerting pressure on India and on Iran's foreign policy. What is of even greater importance is that it would open up the path for access to Afghanistan's strategic raw material reserves for the Americans.

Yes, the implications are even more extensive, and once again these events expose (?the sincerity) of those who defend the freedom and the cause of Islam in Afghanistan, and on the other hand act on the basis of their own avaricious and (?ulterior) motives and continue to expand their interference in the internal affairs of the country.

Islamic Conference To Discuss Afghanistan

LD1303170189 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The 18th session of the foreign ministers of the member-states of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] opened today in Riyadh, the capital of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The session will continue for 4 days. The foreign ministers of the 45 Islamic states will discuss about 60 issues listed on the agenda. Some of these issues pertain directly to the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian question, and the situation in the occupied Arab territories. [passage omitted] The participants in the Riyadh session intend to give much attention to other issues preoccupying the Islamic world, including political settlement of the Iraq-Iran conflict. [passage omitted]

The Afghan question will also be discussed in Riyadh. It is no secret that until recently it was generally believed in the Islamic world that all Afghanistan's troubles were due to the presence of Soviet forces. But nearly a month has passed since the departure from Afghanistan of the last Soviet soldier, and peace has not returned to this tortured country. In fact, the extremist opposition is working to provoke a bloody civil war. It is no coincidence, as it appears, that Yasir 'Arafat said a few days ago that if the confrontation in Afghanistan continued, then Afghanistan would soon become a second Lebanon.

Is this development of events in the interest of the Afghan people and the Islamic world in general? Naturally not, but some members of the ICO are regrettably still ignoring these interests and have only their narrow political objectives and motives in mind. [passage omitted]

Israel Urged To Support Mideast Conference

LD0903144389 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Albert Balebanov commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 9 TASS—By TASS political analyst Albert Balebanov:

The leading "think tank" of Israel, that is, the Jaffa Strategic Research Centre under Tel Aviv University, has published a report on the prospects for settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. Its main conclusion is that there will be no peace between Israel and its Arab neighbours as long as the key problem, namely the Palestinian issue, remains unresolved. The authors of the study, which took six months and was carried out under the direct impact of the Palestinian popular uprising—the "intifada", believe that Tel-Aviv should stop setting up Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab lands, should start negotiations with the PLO, the sole lawful representative of the Palestinian people, and should recognize a sovereign Palestinian state on the western bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip.

Worthy of note is the fact that the centre's researchers, headed by Yosef Alfred, former official of the Israeli intelligence service, had arrived at these conclusions on the basis of broad public opinion polls among the Israeli and Palestinian population. It is most indicative that the peaceful settlement plan, proposed by the centre, proved to be acceptable for 70 percent of the polled Israelis. This testifies once again to the correctness of previous polls, carried out in israel by local and foreign sociology institutes. The overwhelming majority of the country's population is sick and tired of the conflict with the Palestinians, want it to be settled urgently through negotiations with the PLO. They are prepared to coexist peacefully with a Palestinian state.

Another conclusion of the Israeli researchers appears to be of no little importance. They do not rule out the possibility of a new war in the region if the process of settling the Palestinian issue is not started. In other words, the centre actually acknowledges that perpetuation of the present status quo in the Middle East does not lead to tranquility, but rather to another outburst.

Observers have not missed the fact that the report, drawn up by Israeli politologists, [as received] was published shortly before prime-minister Yitzhaq Shamir's visit to the United States, where he is expected to have talks with George Bush's administration on a joint plan to settle the Middle East crisis. Time will show whether the opinion of Israeli scientists will be taken into account during these negotiations.

The conclusions, at which scientists of the Jaffa Strategic Research Centre have arrived, are a kind of challenge to the present Israeli Cabinet, to its prospectless course of rejecting a dialogue with the PLO and refusing to pull out of the occupied territories, to recognize the right of Palestinians to have their own homeland. The results of this study can also be regarded as an imperative call to the Yitzhaq Shamir Cabinet to alter its policy, to heed the voice of its own people and of world public opinion, which come out for a comprehensive, lasting and just settlement in the region on the basis of realism, regard for the interests of all sides concerned, respect of their right to freedom of option. An overwhelming majority of people throughout the world now believe that such a settlement can be achieved quickly and effectively through an international Middle East conference under UN aegis. And the conditions are now ripe for its convocation.

UN Group Discusses Palestinian Situation

LD1103075489 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] New York March 11 TASS—The participants in the Friday meeting of the UN committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people stressed it was necessary to do the utmost to ensure security and protection of the Palestinian population and invigorate efforts toward convening an international peace conference on the Middle East. They expressed concern over the Israeli authorities' toughened measures to suppress the Palestinian uprising on the Israeli-occupied Palestinian lands.

Head of the PLO observer mission at the United Nations Zuhdi Labib al-Tarazi said that the situation in the Middle East had fundamentally changed and real prerequisites emerged for the process of settlement of the Middle East conflict, owing to the PLO leadership's constructive stand and the Palestinian people's selfless uprising. He described as inspiring the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's recent Middle Eastern tour and made a particular mention of his negotiations with PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yassir 'Arafat.

Speaking at the meeting, permanent representative of the Ukrainian SSR at the United Nations Gennadiy Udovenko stressed the importance of brisker consultations between five UN Security Council permanent members, who, acting in contact with the UN secretary-general and the parties to the conflict, could do the preparatory work for the peace conference on the Middle East.

The participants in the meeting approved of the committee work programme for 1989.

Resumption of Iranian Gas Imports Urged

PM1003143189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[A. Tkach dispatch: "Potential for Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation: Let's Reach Agreement—We Are Neighbors, After All"]

[Text] Tehran—It is a fact that oil represents Iran's chief source of wealth and is its main export commodity, producing 98 percent of the country's foreign currency earnings. Natural gas has received far less attention until recently, although official statistics show that Iran's known reserves are second only to the Soviet Union's. However, the country itself makes only very limited use of this form of fuel. To organize its export, to Turkey, for example, requires considerable capital investment in constructing pipelines, which Iran itself, its economy considerably weakened by the 8-year war and the sharp decline in the price of oil, cannot afford at the moment. In the seventies a certain amount of gas was exported to the USSR. For this the trans-Iranian main gas pipeline—known as TIMG-1—was laid, with Soviet participation, from the deposits in the south of the country to the Soviet-Iranian border. But in February 1980 Iran unilaterally stopped supplies, which—and one must be blunt—put Soviet Transcaucasia in a very difficult position. Considerable material outlay was required to rapidly normalize gas supply in the region.

The Iranians have been burning off the gas since then. It is not difficult to calculate how many billions of dollars this has cost the Iranian exchequer.

But much has changed in our world in recent years, including Soviet-Iranian relations, in which positive shifts have emerged. Resources are acutely needed by Iran itself, where an extensive program to restore the war-afflicted regions is being launched. And since TIMG-1 exists, the question of resuming the export of Iranian gas to the USSR has also arisen.

A Soviet economic delegation recently visted Tehran and held talks at the Ministry of Petroleum and the national gas company.

Before he flew back from Iran, I asked the leader of the delegation, S.S. Kashirov, USSR deputy minister of gas industry, to comment on the results of the trip.

[Kashirov] Our countries' cooperation, including cooperation in gas, is logical and understandable by their very geographical position. The Iranian side suggested to us exporting 2-3 billion cubic meters of gas per year. Of course, given that we extract more than 800 billion cubic meters, the figure is pretty modest. But we are neighbors and are ready to buy this gas on a mutually beneficial basis. It will not be surplus to requirements, as in the Transcaucasus fuel now must be supplied over 3,000 km.

[Tkach] The question of payment for the supplies naturally arises.

[Kashirov] Commercial negotiations are not part of our remittance. The question still must be resolved. But I should stress right away that purchases can only be carried out on a mutually beneficial and balanced basis. The Soviet Union will pay for Iranian gas with supplies of machinery and equipment, for example, parts and units for TIMG-1. We are ready to service the gas supply facilities. The Iranian side is showing interest in us participating in gas exploration in the coastal region of the Persian Gulf, organizing underground gas storage, and training specialists in the USSR and Iran. In general I think that the scope for Soviet-Iranian cooperation in this sphere is very extensive.

[Tkach] But are there safeguards against a repetition of the adverse experience of the past, when Iran unilaterally stopped supplies?

[Kashirov] We are taking a certain risk, of course. But the situation is different now. And the contract, when we agree on prices, will include the necessary safeguards and certainly provide for such an eventuality.

Let us leave the task of agreeing on prices, undoubtedly beneficial ones, to our commercial people. But what is pleasant for me as a Soviet is the fact that we are beginning to buy in what we have hitherto exported—energy resources. It is clear to us all today that such exports in the present volumes do our country no credit. For the time being, alas, we are forced to do it. But the first step is the hardest, as people say. Nevertheless, one cannot ignore another fact: At present some of our businessmen in far-off Moscow regard trade ties with our southern neighbor with a certain wariness, while here tough competition for the potentially enormous Iranian market is under way. And it is not only companies from the developed capitalist states of the West and Japan but new industrial countries—South Korea and Brazil—that are energetically engaged in this contest. Businessmen from socialist countries are also dynamically active.

We, however, are continuing to take a very long time to get our act together.

Sub-Saharan Africa

ANC's Tambo, Delegation Visit Moscow

Arrive 9 March

PM1003125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] An African National Congress [ANC] delegation headed by ANC President O. Tambo arrived in Moscow on 9 March at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Lukyanov Meets Delegation

PM1303163389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] In the Kremlin on 11 March A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and V.M. Falin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, had a meeting with a delegation of the African National Congress headed by ANC President O. Tambo. The delegation comprises ANC Secretary General A. Nzo and National Executive Committee members J. Slovo, J. Nkadimeng, J. Modise, T. Mbeki, K. Khani, and B. Maksi.

Greeting the delegation, A.I. Lukyanov expressed solidarity with the ANC—the oldest and most authoritative political organization of the majority of the country's population, which is waging a struggle to create a democratic, unified, nonracial state in South Africa.

The participants in the meeting pointed out that the positive processes getting under way in the world are also to be seen in the south African region, where, as a result of agreements reached on a settlement in south-west Africa, the way to independence for Namibia and to peace and security in Angola is being opened up.

As O. Tambo emphasized, the situation has not improved in the RSA itself. The original cause of tension and conflicts—the racist regime—is preserved. The "reforms" being implemented by the Pretoria rulers do not alter its antipopular essence. Under these conditions the ANC calls for the unity of all opponents of apartheid and considers it necessary to step up the liberation struggle in all its forms.

The Soviet side pointed out that apartheid is a shameful anomaly depriving the people of South Africa of freedom of choice. This anomaly must be ended.

It was unanimously stated at the meeting that the removal of apartheid by political means would accord with the long-term interests of all South Africans. The future of the RSA population, including the whites, is ensured more reliably and securely not through the forcible maintenance of racist measures but through their liquidation.

The eradication of racism is an international task common to all mankind. The participants in the meeting insist on the immediate release of N. Mandela and other political prisoners in the RSA. They advocated intensifying the international campaign against Pretoria's racist policy and applying effective sanctions to it in accordance with UN decisions.

At the delegation's request A.I. Lukyanov spoke about the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and about the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies.

O. Tambo noted the beneficial impact of restructuring on international life and declared that the new political thinking is opening up before mankind the prospects of a world without wars founded on equitable cooperation and security. He expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their immutable support for South Africa's antiracist forces.

Participating in the talks were S. Makana, head of the ANC mission in the USSR, and A.Yu. Urnov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Tambo Holds News Conference

MB0311151989 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] An ANC delegation led by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, is visiting Moscow. At a news conference for local and foreign journalists hosted by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mr Oliver Tambo said:

[Begin Tambo recording] An ANC delegation is spending this week in Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. This is a regular visit for an exchange of views on current issues. We usually discuss the situation in South Africa and in the southern African region as a whole, noting any changes and whatever needs to be changed. We wish to hear about the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policies as well as progress with restructuring. We will also use the visit to voice our profound appreciation for the Soviet Union's notable part in recent developments in southwestern Africa, which culminated in the signing of agreements affecting Angola and Namibia. We also wish to know what Moscow intends to do to ensure that the agreements are honored.

Despite encouraging developments in southwestern Africa, the apartheid regime in Pretoria hangs on. Our major task is to intensify our struggle militarily, politically, and diplomatically, in order to hasten the demise of the present regime in South Africa, and to usher in a democratic and nonracist government. We trust that the Soviet Union will continue its overall support of the ANC and the South-West African People's Organization, the people of Angola and other southern African nations. We trust that the Soviet Union, as of old, will continue its steadfast campaign against the apartheid regime, and this is one of the issues we will be discussing in Moscow.

We again thank the people of the Soviet Union for their solidarity with our struggle against apartheid. We want the Soviets and the international community to know that we will never let up in our struggle until the apartheid regime is ousted from South Africa. We will not let up until our people are free. [end recording]

News Conference on Sierra Leone Ship Incident

LD1003225689 Moscow TASS in English 2138 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] Copenhagen March 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kiselev:

A press conference was held on Friday on board the research vessel "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" of the USSR Academy of Sciences in connection with a provocative action with regard to the Soviet vessel on the part of the authorities of Sierra Leone. The vessel called at the Danish capital on its way home.

V. Kazmin, the skipper of the ship, told Danish and foreign journalists that the research vessel had set out on its 17th voyage with a view to testing its deep-water apparatus which had been repaired by a West German firm. With this end in view, the vessel had chosen an Atlantic Ocean area approximately 1,000 km away from Sierra Leone. The area had abyssal depths and had favourable temperature and weather conditions for winter time.

Foreign specialists who were to participate in the tests were to arrive in Sierra Leone by air.

On February 2 the Soviet vessel arrived at Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone. However there were no representatives of the West German firm. The next day it turned out that upon arriving in the country they had been arrested at the ramp of the plane, had been interrogated and had their passports withdrawn from them.

Pending a clarification of the situation involving the foreign specialists, the directors of the Soviet expedition decided to go out to the ocean outside the territorial waters of Sierra Leone to perform other research programmes and intending to return to Freetown later.

On February 4, with a permission of local authorities the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" left the port. However, a command came from the signal station to stop and take aboard the pilot who had left the ship. The pilot said that by an order of the country's president the vessel was arrested and should moor at the same place.

During the mooring of the Soviet vessel, a warship approached the pier and landed a group of servicemen and people in civilian clothes armed with submachine guns. They demanded that the gangway be lowered. Three armed people called on the skipper and stated that the vessel was detained for several hours pending a clarification of a number of questions. Six armed guards were posted on board the ship and were on around-the-clock duty. The Soviet ship remained in such a situation for eight days.

Over the period the vessel was three times inspected by representatives of the authorities of various rank. The latest inspection involved 31 officials and 20 armed guards. The inspection group was led by the port commandant. Following that inspection the vessel was released.

The cause of the arrest was never clearly formulated by the authorities either in oral or written form. Different versions were expressed. At first it was said that there was military equipment on board the ship and that part of the crew were servicemen. Then it was asserted that the Soviet vessel intended to operate within the territorial waters of Sierra Leone. It was supposed that the ship had toxic substances posing danger to the country's waters. There was yet another version that the deep-water apparatus was nuclear-powered.

None of security officers introduced himself, the skipper pointed out. No one apologised for the arbitrary actions. Security officers who called on the skipper tried to exact bribes and foodstuffs, which they were categorically denied. The servicemen on duty behaved in an off-hand way.

Specialists of the West German firm were forbidden to board the Soviet vessel and were ordered to leave the country by air.

Danish pressmen expressed a surprise in connection with the unceremonious actions of Sierra Leonean authorities, an opinion about advisability to claim damages was expressed.

* SADCC Ministers Meet, Discuss Namibia

WA18070144 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[Article by TASS political observer Sergey Kulik: "Without Racist Entanglement"]

[Text] **In Luanda recently there was a meeting of the Council of Ministers of the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), whose optimistic mood was predetermined by the prospects for making peace in this region and the proclamation of Namibian independence.**

The results of the work of SADCC, which unites Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesoto, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Tanzania undoubtedly deserves attention. To a significant degree this is an organization of "Front-Line States" that for many years served as the main target for the Republic of South Africa. The total damage caused to their economies by Pretoria exceeds $40 billion. The states of SADCC are welded together by a common goal, for which this organization was created in 1980: to reduce their dependency on the racist republic and, relying on their own resources and their joint development, to strengthen the economic independence of the entire "nine."

This goal is difficult to achieve because the RSA has traditionally played the role of "regional power" on the south African subcontinent. Even today, in spite of the South Africans' rejection of the apartheid policy, many countries have been forced to maintain close economic and financial relations with Pretoria. This pertains not only to Lesoto, Swaziland, Botswana, and Malawi, which are linked to the external world only by threads of roads that go through RSA territory, and which send 75 to 90 percent of their export products to the south. Countries do not choose their neighbors, and to whom, for example, can Mozambique sell electricity if the electricity transmission line from the largest GES in Africa, Kabor Bass, goes to the south? Even Zambia and Zimbabwe have been forced to take advantage of the South African infrastructure.

Therefore SADCC has always considered its main task to be improvement of the transportation system and infrastructure. Millions of dollars were spent to reconstruct and modernize the Mozambique ports of Maputo and Beira and restore the railroads that extend from the coast of the Indian Ocean to the interior of the continent. But the endless sabotage of Mozambique National Resistance bands have all but nullified these expenditures.

Where is the solution? At the meeting in Luanda the participants actively discussed the question of the "turn in the direction of the Atlantic." Taking into account the peace process around Angola, many people see a future in beginning to restore the Benguela railroad which provides access to the ocean through Angolan territory. Previously it was the object of constant sabotage by National Union for the Total Independence of Angola terrorists who held Namibian rear lines. In the near future, when Namibia becomes independent and is made the 10th member of SADCC, the situation surrounding "Benguela" could stabilize. Moreover, it seems quite possible to carry out the African "construction project of the century"—the construction of the Transkalahari) railroad. In the east it will join the mainline that goes through Botswana to Zimbabwe and then to the north, and in the west it will go through Namibia to the Atlantic. After Namibia joins the SADCC, this organization will have immense quantities of mineral resources at its disposal: rich supplies of uranium, diamonds, and nonferrous metals.

In addition to its large projects, SADCC has a list of 500 smaller exports for purposes of diversification—from the creation of rabbit farms to the construction of processing enterprises for local raw material. Each country of the organization coordinates its own economic policy with the other participants in SADCC in a specific area. Angola, for example, performs these functions in the area of energy engineering. Possessing a large supply of petroleum, this country, through its state enterprise Sonangol, should arrange supplies of petroleum products to other SADCC states in order to help satisfy fuel needs in the future. Botswana specializes in conducting agricultural research and monitoring the spread of livestock diseases, Lesoto in protecting land resources, Malawi in fishing and forestry, Mozambique in transportation and communications, Swaziland in labor resources, Tanzania in the processing industry, Zambia in the mining industry, and Zimbabwe in the area of food.

Zimbabwe, which has developed commercial agriculture, has already rendered a good deal of assistance within the SADCC framework by providing food for Mozambique and Botswana, which were struck by drought. It is now planned to construct a special fund within the SADCC framework for purchasing large quantities of grain and constructing grain storage facilities. This will reduce the dependency on food imports from the RSA and will make it possible to begin implementing the program for collective self-provision of food. Large joint investments in animal husbandry in Botswana are planned for the same purpose.

The implementation of many of these vitally important programs, whose overall cost exceeds $6.5 million, is being held up by a lack of funds. According to the most modest estimates, the overall indebtedness of SADCC countries to Western creditors corresponds to approximately 60 percent of their GNP. "Because of the negative consequences of the world economic crisis, the states of the region have been forced to take the strictest economic measures," said Angolan Minister of External Relations P. Van Dunem Loy. "This has a negative effect on their economic life and leads to a decline in the well-being of our people."

While formally the conference in Luanda considered purely economic problems, it is possible to clearly trace a concrete political subtext. Western donors to Africa were subjected to straightforward criticism both for using the "dollar lasso" in order to preserve the neocolonial dependency of the African countries and for their economic cooperation with the RSA.

Diplomats and journalists had not yet managed to analyze the results of the SADCC Council of Ministers meeting when this organization's annual consultative conference opened up in Luanda under the slogan: "Production branches of the economy—motive forces of development." Participating in it along with permanent SADCC members were delegations from 30 developed countries, including the USSR. The basic goal of the meeting was to mobilize funds and enlist international financial assistance for implementing the various plans for the region's development. Its participants emphasized the need to create conditions for stimulating capital investments in SADCC projects, pointing out the urgency of creating enterprises with mixed capital.

"While hoping for help from the world community, we must mainly rely on our own forces under the conditions of world socioeconomic integration," stated the Angolan Minister of Foreign Trade D. Rangel. "The improvement of foreign political conditions for development inspires hope that our efforts will be crowned with success."

East Europe

Agreement on Joint GDR Enterprise Signed

LD1303145189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1355 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] An agreement to set up the first joint USSR-GDR enterprise was signed today at the International Spring Fair in Leipzig. It will carry out scientific research and experimental design studies on the development and introduction of programmed technology complexes and program systems.

Polish Roundtable Talks Enter 'Crucial' Stage

PM1303171589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Debate Continues"]

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Mar—The roundtable talks here involving representatives of the government, the trade unions, and the "constructive opposition" are entering a crucial stage. The sides have to crystallize the outlines of a future national accord on the most important sociopolitical and socioeconomic questions. An accord has been reached to the effect that the troubleshooter groups will complete their work 20 March in order to enable a plenary roundtable session to meet 3 April.

A session of the political reform group yesterday examined the main problems linked with the radical restructuring of the system of supreme organs of state power and the holding of the impending Sejm elections. Party and government representatives submitted a range of discussion proposals on the preparation of a new draft concept for Sejm elections and a draft concept concerning the creation of a second chamber in the Polish parliament and the establishment of the post of president of the Polish People's Republic with extremely wide-ranging powers. The planned changes aim to deepen the democratization process and lay the foundations for a rule-of-law state. J. Reykowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, recalled that the group is not making final decisions but is examining various possibilities and submitting a proposal to the government on the basis of the consensus reached to carry out reforms and enshrine them juridically.

At subsequent sessions the political reform group will continue to discuss the projects for the restructuring of state structures and the problems of holding Sejm elections.

PZPR Secretary Comments on 10th Plenum

PM1303131189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty by TASS correspondent V. Runov in Warsaw for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Opening Up to Society"; date not given; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—Poland is back on the pages of the world press. Events which are difficult to understand are under way there. Even experienced experts get lost. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which marked a turning point in the party's life; the roundtable talks, as a result of which political and trade union pluralism is to be given a legal basis; the difficult economic situation—it is not easy to arrange all these factors into a strict sequence. How will the PZPR fight to ensure its leading role and vanguard positions in society in this very complex situation?

At SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's request your TASS correspondent met with PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zygmunt Czarzasty, who joined the top leadership quite recently and who was able, as first secretary of the Slupsk party committee, to achieve first-rate results quickly in all spheres of the voivodship's production and public life.

[Runov] This experiment has now received extensive application. What is the secret of its success, and what direction will party reorganization be taking as a whole to restore the influence it has to some extent lost in society?

[Czarzasty] The Slupsk experiment gave a social character to party activity. The PZPR does in point of fact possess this quality, but all its organs and institutions should be much more acutely attuned to it. The leading role is not an end in itself. The party discharges that role for society, not for itself. It is essential, therefore, to find forms for involving the majority of the population in the party's life. Just such a policy was pursued in Slupsk. The voivodship party committee rejected the sectorial structure. Economic, agricultural, and other departments which actually duplicated organs of state power, divested them of some their responsibility, and exercised supervision over them were scrapped. The ultimate aim of such measures was to enhance the role of elected party organs and subordinate the executive apparatus of power to them.

New ways of organizing party work are already being experimentally tried out now in a number of voivodship party committees. Changes aimed at "socializing the activity" of party agencies are continuing. The voivodship committees of cities such as Legnica, Koszalin, Elblag, Lublin, and Lomza are switching over to new forms of work. However, a decision has been made not to impose from above—on all party organizations—uniform solutions which copy the new structures organized in Slupsk or even in the PZPR Central Committee. We are giving comrades time to find their own solutions which meet the requirements and potential of each specific party committee. We are talking about the party apparatus beginning to play the role of a competent auxiliary link precisely executing the decisions of elected PZPR organs.

Fifteen commissions, which will be functional, targeted, or topic-based, are currently being set up as part of the Central Committee reorganization. Each will be headed by a member or candidate member of the Politburo or a PZPR Central Committee secretary. The final questions concerning the reorganization and the personnel of the commissions will be decided by the upcoming 11th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

As a result all but three departments in the Central Committee will be scrapped. The Central Committee office, the party management department, and the cadre department will remain. Some staffers in the scrapped departments will be transferred to other party work, and the rest will join the new organs. The reorganization will produce a 45-percent reduction in the number of political personnel in the PZPR Central Committee apparatus.

The center of gravity of all party work is shifting into the sociopolitical sphere. The PZPR will perform the vanguard role in the search for optimum ways of developing society without arrogating to itself the right to absolute truth and infallible action.

[Runov] Any process breaching structures built up over decades and affecting the interests of influential strata of sopciety is bound to generate resistance. What obstacles stand in the way of reforms in the party?

[Czarzasty] The transformations underway in the party are revolutionary in character. They are changing not just the structures and customary work style built up over years but even the party rules. However, the changes are not haphazard but are proceeding according to a plan drawn up in advance after extensive consultation and in accordance with specific Politburo decisions. The importance of these changes is shown if only by the fact that they were endorsed by a special resolution. It is easy to scrap and destroy existing structures but much harder to create new ones. The reorganization is spearheaded against that part of the apparatus for which private affairs and careerist inclinations are superior to party interests.

[Runov] To carry out such large-scale transformations it is essential to answer the question: What are the fundamental causes of the stalling and poor efficiency of party work and the decline in the party's role in the process of socialist building?

[Czarzasty] The party's organizational work methods applied until recently were fine at the stage of acute political confrontation. The excessive expansion of monitoring institutions elevated control into the main form of party activity. In work carried out according to this principle it was not the interests of the cause but the opinion of the boss and the inspecting functionaries that was paramount. The person who occupied the highest position in the hierarchy was always right. There was no need to consult society or argue one's case to it.

[Runov] What role did the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum play in drafting the new concept of party activity? After all, it did make the final decision on the need for political and trade union pluralism and the legalization of "Solidarity." Judging by the discussion proceedings, the debates on all these issues were stormy and the clash between new and old ideas and views was trenchant and uncompromising.

[Czarzasty] It was the plenum that decided the questions of extreme significance for the party. Its main feature was the fact that it saw a clash between different ways of thinking. The political discussion, which was long overdue, was open. The party had made long and serious preparations for the plenum. Its theses and basic documents had been widely discussed. More than half a million communists expressed their opinion regarding their content. The PZPR leadership considered that such important decisions could be made only after extensive consultation. Everyone was well aware that this time business was not going to be decided in a purely formal way and that the future was at stake. The PZPR leadership defended its standpoint in this acute struggle. The drama of the prevailing situation is indicated if only by the fact that the plenum took a vote of confidence in the Politburo. Eventually Central Committee members accepted a concept which was to change the complexion of the party and bring it organizationally and ideologically into line with the requirements of the time and the changes underway in the country.

The discussion at the plenum showed that there were still quite a few people in the party who wanted to mount guard over a fire that is no longer burning but merely smoldering. They had to be fought. The party found the inner strength to open itself up to society and to take on board the process of democratization which is only just getting under way. Voices are heard and will continue to be heard proclaiming that we are selling socialism out. We are ready to reject everything that hampers its development. We accept that not everything will be achieved immediately, but our main thrust is correct and incorporates a forward-looking perspective. This inspires people with faith and provides guarantees that the process of democratizing society will be irreversible and that socialist society will be transformed into a productive and morally healthy system, within which everyone will be able to fully reveal their potential.

[Runov] Now a few words about young people. Only 6 percent of communist party members are under 30. The PZPR is an aging party, is it not? How will young people be attracted into its ranks?

[Czarzasty] Literally all the transformations now underway in the party are being carried out for young people and cannot be carried out without their participation. We expect that in literally a few months the average age of party members will begin to fall for the simple reason that everything taking place in the party and country is directed toward the reason and initiative of young people, who will finally receive the right to decide their own fate and the fate of the country. This will happen because we have not invented anything; we have merely responded to ideas and proposals long matured in our society. The 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum decisions are merely a synthesis of ideas accumulated by the people over many years.

[Runov] How does the party intend to discharge its leading role in the new conditions, where political pluralism is becoming a real fact in Poland and new social forces are advancing constructive, creative ideas and demanding to be given the chance to participate in running the state?

[Czarzasty] The party is restructuring itself precisely in order to become the main guarantor of the socialist system in the country. But at the same time it is open to cooperation with any constructive social force, with those who wish to take part in building Polish socialism within the existing system. We consider the cart we are pulling as heavy for the party alone. We do not have the moral right to cast aside those willing to push forward with us the heavy load of Polish reforms. But we do specify that they do so within socialist law and order and the Constitution.

[Runov] The topic of the roundtable discussion now dominates the mass media. Many pin great hopes on it and quite often wonder what will happen if the talks fail.

[Czarzasty] We did not begin the process of revolutionary transformations just to hold roundtable discussion. It came about and is proceeding in accordance with the party's will. The talks are not a gesture to the opposition but are the result of urgent reforms being implemented.

MSZMP To Retain Leading Role in Army

PM1303140589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Manki Ponomarev in response to reader's letter, under the rubric "International Observer Answers Reader": "Life is Richer Than Any Plan"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction and reader's letter]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel V. Bolozdynya from Lvov asked the editorial office the following question:

"I once served with the Southern Group of Forces and since then have taken an interest in events in Hungary and how the development and implementation of a new socialist concept is proceeding in that land. For instance, there have been press reports to the effect that Hungary is starting to set up a multiparty system. Consequently, other parties will start operating alongside the MSZMP. How might this affect the Hungarian People's Army? Currently, as far as I am aware, most Hungarian officers are MSZMP members. But what will happen when other parties start operating? Will their organizations be set up in Hungarian People's Army units and could servicemen join them?"

In order to answer this question we should clearly turn to the experience of other socialist countries where the multiparty system is an enduring factor of political life. Thus, in the GDR there are another four parties apart from the SED—the Democratic Peasants Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, the National Democratic Party, and the Christian Democratic Union. Their recognition of the leading role played in the country by the working class and the SED is an abiding condition for the existence of these parties, which reflect the interests of a certain proportion of the GDR's population.

The multiparty system also exists in certain other socialist countries of Europe and Asia. In Poland, for instance, the United Peasant Party and the Demoratic Party exist alongside the Marxist-Leninist PZPR. They are represented in the Sejm and the government in the same way as the PZPR.

Only the PZPR operates within the Polish Army. The overwhelming majority of officers—of the order of 90 percent—and approximately two-thirds of warrant officers are PZPR members. Among draftees there are naturally fewer PZPR members and candidate members—after all, junior officers and men tend to be young. But many of them join the PZPR during their service. There are no organizations of the other allied parties—as they are sometimes called—in the Polish Army, just as there are none in the GDR National People's Army.

However, Vladimir Pavlovich, let us turn to Hungary. A multiparty system does not yet exist there. There is currently one party in the country—the MSZMP. Nonetheless, the MSZMP Central Committee Plenum in February this year, which discussed ways to overcome the economic and political crisis in the country and the need to develop a new concept of socialism free from any distortions, discussed the forthcoming profound reform and the entire system of political institutions. In particular, it was decided to embark on the path of political pluralism so as to ensure that power is exercised democratically under the control of society and through direct and representative democracy within the framework of a multiparty system, and to provide for competition between different political forces.

At the same time, the plenum stressed that with the transition to a multiparty system, the MSZMP openly proclaims that it wishes to exercise the determining role in Hungarian society. The MSZMP intends to carry out this role using political means, above all through a program and through persuasion.

Naturally, the Hungarian People's Army cannot remain aloof from all these processes. How will it be affected by the transition to a multiparty system? What problems will arise in this area? In the quest for an answer to these questions which interest you and other readers I turned to Major General L. Varga, military and air attache at the Hungarian Embassy in Moscow.

General L. Varga familiarized me with the the speech given at a party aktiv meeting at a Hungarian People's Army garrison by G. Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, a considerable proportion of which was devoted to these issues, and shared his own ideas. This is the overall picture that emerged:

Although the decision in principle to switch to a multiparty system has been made, there will be no excessive haste in implementing it. There is as yet no draft law on parties, and such a draft will be submitted to parliament only in August. Nonetheless, there are already lively discussions in the country, the Army, and the police force about whether officers—and currently the overwhelming majority, as you rightly point out, are MSZMP members—will be able to join other parties. There have been certain calls for the Army to be "depoliticized" and for servicemen to be barred from membership in political parties.

Such a proposal can hardly be considered realistic. As G. Fejti pointed out in his speech, there is no "depoliticization" of the Army in Hungary nor will there be. Without the MSZMP's leading role the Army will be unable to carry out its functions, play a stabilizing role in the country, ensure the country's defense capability, or fulfill its allied duty within the Warsaw Pact.

The opinion expressed by some people in Hungary that after new political parties emerge they should be given "equal chances" in the Armed Forces and allowed to set up their organizations in Hungarian People's Army units and formations and to recruit members among regular servicemen, should also be considered unrealistic. On this issue too the MSZMP cannot abandon its positions. Officers and warrant officers will not be able to join other parties. Otherwise the Army, G. Fejti pointed out in his speech, will rapidly lose its effectiveness.

As for draftees, it is possible that, when drafted, some of them may already be members of one of the new parties. However, this does not alter the crux of the matter and these parties will hardly be able to directly influence Army life. However, they will obviously be able to take part in solving problems relating to the country's defense capability, the determination of military policy, and the setting of the military budget in parliament and the other representative organs where they will be represented.

Incidentally—and this should be particularly emphasized—life is far more rich and diverse than any speculative plans. Only life and political practice will fully reveal how events in Hungary and the Hungarian People's Army will develop in the future. Only one thing is beyond doubt: The MSZMP, even operating under conditions of political pluralism, does not intend to abandon its socialist ideals and role in society, including its role in the leadership of the Hungarian People's Army, the police force, and other armed organs of the Hungarian people's state.

* Historian on Hungarian-Romanian Dispute

WA18070543 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 9, 4-10 Mar 89 pp 5-6

[Article by T. Islamov: "On Hungarian-Romanian Relations"]

[Text] **Today the issue of interethnic relations has been sharply raised in many nations. The socialist world has not escaped this problem. The conflict based on interethnic problems taking place in the SFRY is intensifying. The friendship of the peoples of the USSR is experiencing the trial of interethnic dissonance.**

Not infrequently, conflict on an interethnic basis in some country becomes a cause of international tension. This is exactly what happened in relations between Hungary and Romania. Doctor of Historical Sciences T. Islamov describes the origins of these problems.

Tension in the mutual relations of two neighboring countries, of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples, did not arise yesterday; it has accumulated gradually. The roots of many of the problems which divide these countries go deep into the past. The history of Hungarian-Romanian relations has seen many conflicts, including bloody ones. Yet there were also prolonged periods of peaceful, neighborly coexistence, marked by joint statements under the banner of social progress.

In the past, Transylvania served as the center for collision of Hungarians and Romanians on nationalistic grounds; its territory was bounded to the east and south by the Carpathians, and to the north and west by the borders with Hungary and Yugoslavia.

The Historical Roots of the Conflict

Like modern Hungary, the territory of Transylvania was settled by the predecessors of the Magyars beginning in the 9th-10th centuries. In the early 16th century, as the Hungarian kingdom disintegrated under the Ottoman assaults, Transylvania was set up as its own principality, which preserved Hungarian statehood. In the 16th-17th and early 18th centuries, it was the stronghold and base for the Magyars' emancipation movement, the cradle of national culture. After the expulsion of the Ottomans, Transylvania, along with Hungary, came into the realm of the Austrian Hapsburgs.

For centuries immemorial Magyars, Germans, Serbs, and Romanians lived here, side by side.

The official historiography of the Romanian Socialist Republic dates to the emergence of the Romanian forebears of the last era of the Roman empire. After the fall of Austro-Hungary in 1918, Transylvania was incorporated into Romania. The desire of the area's Romanian population to unite with Romania was expressed in December 1918 by a national assembly in the city of Alba-Yuliya. This was later affirmed by the Versailles conference and the Trianon Peace Treaty.

Some 22 years later, in August 1940, under Hitler's pressure, Romania ceded the northern part of Transylvania to Hungary; it was returned to Romania after the area's liberation by the Soviet Army in 1944. As a signatory of the Paris peace treaty of 1946 and later, of the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement on European Security and Cooperation of 1975, Hungary has clearly and unequivocally renounced any territorial pretensions toward its neighbors.

How the Polemic Began

The historical disputes between the Romanians and the Hungarians, from ancient times up to the period of World War II, have given the historians of both countries much to discuss. This open polemic, surpassing any previous ones in its tone, passions, and scale, unfolded in light of the publication in the Hungarian People's Republic of the 1986 three-volume "History of Transylvania," prepared by leading Hungarian scholars. The very publication of this scientific work was perceived in Bucharest as interference in Romanian internal affairs. Leading Romanian historians published piercingly negative reviews. Soon afterward, two special pamphlets appeared: "Intentional Falsification Under the Aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences" and "The National Policy of the Romanian Communist Party—A Fair, Scientific, Realistic and Humanitarian Policy." In a speech by the president of Romania, the Hungarian monograph was subjected to cutting criticism.

In response to these rebukes, the authors of "The History of Transylvania" indicated that while writing their work, they were ruled exclusively by concepts of scientific objectivity, taking care to avoid offending any sort of national sensitivity.

The situation worsened when at the beginning of last year, M. Syuresh, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, stated his thesis that the Hungarians living beyond the border were part of the Hungarian nation and could rightfully rely on the assistance of Hungary. The political polemic started to grow in the intergovernmental relations of the two socialist countries.

Hungary's Reaction to Romania's Plans

A demonstration took place on Heroes Square in Budapest on 27 June 1988; several tens of thousands of the Hungarian capital's workers participated. The cause for such an impressive - and, in truth, for a socialist country, unusual—manifestation was the start of Romania's implementation of its "systematization of territory" in village localities.

According to the Romanian press, this was essentially an "abridgment" of approximately half of the 13,000 villages and towns in Romania, which were labeled as "having no long-term prospects." The population of the villages being eliminated is supposed to move to multiunit apartment houses in agro-cities and communes by the year 2000.

The authors and initiators of this project anticipate not only immediate advantages: expanded area of arable land, increased production of agricultural goods, and the elimination of a severe deficit in provisions. Simultaneously, it is hoped that in Romania, working and living conditions of the urban and rural population will thus be brought closer together, strengthening the union of the workers, peasants, and intelligentsia, and fortifying the "uniformity of Romanian society" in the ethnocultural and ethnonational sense. Intensification of ethnonational processes is discussed here, the integration of Hungarian and other peoples—who are called, according to official accepted terminology, "nationalities living in common with the Romanian nation."

The press, social organizations, and in a number of cases, the parliaments and governments of America and the European countries (Hungary, the SFRY, the FRG, Austria, and others) have expressed their concern on the subject of the preservation of historical and cultural monuments of European significance, in which the ancient Transylvanian land is rich.

The protests in Hungary against the implementation of the "systematization plan" and demonstrations in behalf of the national-cultural interests of the Magyars living in Romania were assessed as interference in the internal affairs of the Romanian Socialist Republic. The tension in the two countries' relations reached its apogee late in the summer of 1988.

The Conflict and the Search for Its Resolution

In an attempt to put an end to the tension which grew with each year, the leadership of both countries opened direct, high-level negotiations in 1977. However, the meeting of J. Kadar and N. Ceausescu had only a temporarily positive effect. Then, in response to the invitation of the Romanian president, the new Hungarian leader, K. Grosz, came to Arad, Romania, on 28 August 1988. Thus, 11 years later, a new high-level meeting of the leaders of the two neighboring countries took place. Of course it cannot be supposed that great results could be achieved at a working meeting for which there were only a few days' preparation. It was nonetheless important that steps toward one another were taken. Thus, the sides agreed on the further encouragement of tourism and on activating the work of the Romanian-Hungarian Historians Commission. Indisputable success was achieved in the area of development of mutually advantageous trade and economic contacts. All the same, unfortunately, many issues which form the basis of the two countries' conflict were left open. This, and individual aspects of the "systematization" of settlements: where the Hungarian population would live, the problems associated with the relocation to Hungary of a portion of the Hungarians living in Romania, and several others.

After Arad

The calm in the mutual polemic produced by the Arad meeting proved to be short-lived. Several weeks later it was renewed with fresh force. Nor did the meeting of the Central Committee secretaries of both parties, held soon after the high-level meeting at Arad, bring about any movement.

It must be assumed that the current unnatural state of relations between the two socialist countries is of a temporary nature. One may completely agree with the assessment of its prospects depicted by K. Grosz in his statement of 16 November 1988. The MSZMP general secretary said, "These two peoples, these two countries have lived next to one another for a long time, and will remain next to one another. The borders drawn after World War II are final for us. Thus it follows that we do not want to accentuate antipathy and tension, but cooperation and friendship."

Speaking at an RCP Central Committee Plenum late in November 1988, N. Ceausescu emphasized that "Romania has always favored and will continue to favor the resolution of conflicts and controversial issues solely through negotiation and peaceful means."

It would seem that the statements of the responsible leaders give reason to expect peaceful and constructive discussion and resolution of the issues facing these two nations and peoples.

West Europe

Anatoliy Gromyko Holds 'Discreet' Talks in UK

LD1103224689 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 2152 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] British, Soviet and South African academics spent almost three days at a hotel in Surrey for "discreet" talks, it was learned tonight. The meeting, which was under the chairmanship of Sir John Killick, the former British ambassador in Moscow, is seen to reflect the more open approach to international issues by Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

Sir John, who is also former head of the British mission to NATO, said: "It was not in any sense a secret meeting. It was discreet. Its purpose was to exchange views, to promote a better understanding. Probably for the Soviet side the objective was to destroy stereotypes. The exchanges were valuable. But it would be premature to say they were intended to lead to Soviet and South African Government direct contact."

The Soviet delegation was led by Anatoliy Gromyko, head of a Soviet academic institute in Moscow, who is the son of the former Soviet foreign minister and former president.

The discussions are thought to have reviewed the moves leading to an independent Namibia, the territory in south-west Africa, which has been controlled by South Africa in defiance of a United Nations Security Council resolution. The breakthrough in this dispute is believed to have been partly due to collaboration between the United States and the Soviet Union which prepared the way for the withdrawal of Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola. This has been interpreted as part of the new approach to international relations by Mr Gorbachev. According to Western experts, the Soviet leader is now more ready to question the benefits to the Soviet Union of Soviet positions which have largely become frozen over the years.

Gorbachev, PCP's Cunhal Discuss Agriculture

LD1303192689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1738 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Mar (TASS)—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, together with Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev and Aleksandr Yakovlev, had a conversation today with Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP], who has completed his treatment in the Soviet Union and is departing for home shortly.

Mikhail Gorbachev, who is currently completing preparations for his report at the upcoming plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, explained the main concepts of agrarian policy at the new stage, which will be of cardinal significance not only for agriculture and the country's overall socioeconomic development, but also for the very concept of further developing socialism.

The participants in the conversation briefly exchanged views on the contemporary international situation, touched on certain matters of relations between the CPSU and the PCP, and drew attention to a certain shift of emphasis in Western propaganda. They stated that certain circles were whipping up gloomy predictions regarding restructuring with the manifest aim of hampering the positive changes in the international arena and the growth of mutual understanding in the world community on the key issues of modern times.

Emphasis was placed on the significance—especially at this crucial turning point—of precise and authoritative information on the processes underway in the Soviet Union and on the decisions being made by its leadership, and of a correct assessment of their socialist essence and of the contribution of restructuring to the common progress of humanity and to the formation of a new, peaceful international order.

Mikhail Gorbachev wished Alvaro Cunhal a full recovery and asked him to convey immutable feelings of affection and friendship to Portuguese Communists from their Soviet colleagues.

Italy's Andreotti Views World Problems

PM1303192189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti by N. Miroshnik in Rome: "Working Together"; date not given]

[Text] Rome, March—[Miroshnik] Minister, recent speeches of yours have by and large given an extremely positive assessment of the results achieved over the last year in strengthening international security. In your opinion, what should the international community do in the near future to assist the future process of detente and arms reduction?

[Andreotti] I think that I was one of the first people to detect innovative elements in General Secretary Gorbachev's policy and in how the Soviet Union sees itself and the outside world. But at first there were plenty of skeptics. I said right away, however, that these new elements had to be checked out against actions. Since that time there has been no shortage of actions, and they have turned hopes into trust and have justified our policy of cooperation. An agreement on Euromissiles and the Soviet Union's pledge to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan by 15 February made their appearance.

I voiced an extremely high opinion of General Secretary Gorbachev's speeches, in particular his UN speech on interdependence and rejection of the ideology of irreconcilable confrontation. That is the backdrop against which East-West relations have developed, even at times of most active dialogue.

We must work together to build a new type of coexistence. Everything is becoming newer and more open to political imagination, and 1989 is filled with many expectations. These include a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear arms: I think that an active exchange of opinions between the two largest powers could prove that this is not an unrealistic aim.

[Miroshnik] What is the role of our "common home"—Europe—in all this?

[Andreotti] Different talks affect Italy and Western Europe more directly, as well as their ability to submit proposals, facilitate the innovations, and at the same time protect themselves against surprises during this time of change. The inalienable role of the United States and Canada in maintaining the European balance of power as formulated by the Helsinki accords is our greatest guarantee.

Imbalance in conventional arms gives rise to the greatest alarm in Europe, not least because of its permanence and the proximity of the opposing sides. The rules of arms sufficiency, often mentioned by the Soviet Union, should be embodied in strategic doctrine and—I would go further—in a structure of forces and military balances that could dispel the causes for concern.

This is still not enough for an all-European home. The creation of such a home envisages rapprochement of the principles on which our societies are based. The final document approved recently by the Vienna meeting constitutes our continent's most genuine "fundamental law." It includes pledges to base our policy on consensus among citizens; the possibility of control, which we acknowledge for both every state and every individual; and a network of contacts that would restore Europe's cultural unity with its many historical roots. This new pact also includes the West's pledge to implement active economic cooperation, which would contribute on the basis of mutual advantage to the bold process of reforms underway in the Soviet Union.

Thus we have a blueprint for a "common home" with many specific details, and we intend to implement it. There is still a long way to go and 1989 marks the beginning of the work. But this beginning may indicate how willing and able we are to complete this work.

[Miroshnik] What is your opinion of the results of the recent International Chemical Weapons Conference in Paris, where, among other things, the Soviet spokesman announced that the USSR would begin destroying its stocks of these weapons this year?

[Andreotti] Obviously 1989 is also going to be crucial for chemical weapons. Due to the fact that virtually all states participated in it, the Paris conference gave a new boost to the 1925 Geneva protocol on banning the use of chemical agents, which was in danger of being eroded by the violations that occurred in the most recent conflicts. The political and moral renunciation of these instruments of destruction is accompanied by the right to monitoring, which finally won UN recognition—a right which, I hope, no one wants to deny.

The boost that the Paris conference gave to the Geneva talks on the universal banning of chemical weapons, including their production and storage, is even more important. Difficult knots such as the problem of monitoring, which is much more complex than in the case of nuclear arms, still need to be unraveled. Last December we carried out experimental checks at two chemical production facilities in Italy involving foreign, including Soviet, scientists. We noted that monitoring is not impossible, at any rate.

Last, we all highly regarded the Soviet Union's readiness to destroy its arsenals. It only remains, perhaps, to regret that this readiness was not manifest earlier. But this is a good decision that evokes trust in the Soviet standpoint. In any case it should become part of a future convention on universal banning and appropriate monitoring of these weapons.

[Miroshnik] It seems that there is now a trend toward the political settlement of one of the most protracted regional conflicts—the Near East conflict. Can we already speak of a real prospect of speedily restoring peace in the Near East region?

[Andreotti] The Italian Government has constantly devoted efforts toward resolving the Near East problem, and not only because it represents a permanent crisis close to our country. One must never lose sight of the overall picture and the deep roots of the conflict in the Near East. We have drawn our European Community partners' attention to this: It is no coincidence that they first stated their position on this question most authoritatively in June 1980 in Venice. We have constantly advised Arab countries and the PLO to put an end to elements of ambiguity, in particular with regard to recognition of the State of Israel and the renunciation of terrorism. The 12 members of the EEC then helped their main ally, the United States, to grasp these two new elements in the Palestinians' approach which were crowned by 'Arafat's speech in Algiers.

Nor did we tire of reminding the Soviet Union that the normalization of relations with Israel—which is impeded by the problem of Jewish emigration [Footnote] [This kind of opinion is at variance with the true state of affairs. The normalization of relations is prevented, as is well-known, by Israel's obstructionist approach to a Near East settlement—editorial office]—would help begin the peace process. This is also part of our viewpoint.

Assistance from many states is needed to reach a peace settlement based on Israel's right to live within secure and recognized borders and the Palestinians' right to self-determination. It is these two tenets which are the main ones in the CSCE countries' Vienna statement and which we believe must be focused on in an international peace conference on the Near East. Europe bears responsibility because the Arab and Israeli nations are also the daughters of our history. They have equal, legitimate rights to exist and we would not want a crisis which—like the wars in the time of the crusades—continued for 300 years.

The road to peace is still long. Nonetheless I hope that in 1989 the Israelis and Palestinians will be able to take the first step toward it, ridding their minds of excessive passions and bitter reflections.

[Miroshnik] The democratization of international relations also involves their humanization. That is the Soviet leadership's viewpoint. What do you think should be done to ensure that present-day international relations reflect more fully the aspirations of ordinary people and serve to strengthen their rights and freedoms?

[Andreotti] International relations are being democratized by lessening the burden of arms and mutual threats—albeit only potential threats—along with all its twisted logic.

Individuals and civilized societies must likewise feel they are involved in political decisionmaking, since they alone can guarantee the rationality of these decisions. Andrey Sakharov has emphasized on several occasions the linkage between human rights, democracy, and international conflicts. Human rights violations have created more deprivation and poverty than these instruments of mass destruction.

It will also be necessary to promote contacts between ordinary people, politicians, and cultural representatives that exceed the limits of national borders. Only then can we be sure that we are calling to life a culture based on reciprocity in our countries, one that is also the culture of peace.

We have provided several opportunities to clear up the situation on the human rights question. We will have three such opportunities before 1991, the last one being in Moscow. I hope that at these meetings each government will be able to show that its line of conduct corresponds with its pledges.

[Miroshnik] The task of environmental protection is coming to the fore in virtually every country. Moreover, it is clear that common efforts will be needed to resolve it. In your opinion, what are the prospects for Soviet-Italian cooperation in this sphere?

[Andreotti] It is problems of environmental protection, both in East and West, that have helped create interdependence and joint responsibility. Acid rain does not stop at state borders and the Chernobyl cloud spread danger and alarm throughout Europe. The divergent interests of individual states have no right to exist in view of the need to preserve the greatest "common home"—the planet earth. Within the United Nations the priorities are gradually shifting in favor of environmental protection, especially since this is closely linked with development. In participating together with the USSR in the work of the world laboratory in Geneva, we are cooperating in a series of initiatives aimed at keeping our planet under control and studying and preventing natural disasters like those that have just caused such grief in the Soviet Union.

[Miroshnik] You are known in Italy and abroad not only as a very experienced politician, who first entered a Socialist government in 1947, but also as a popular journalist, whose commentaries in the periodical press and whose books enjoy invariable success with readers. This was also confirmed by your latest book "The USSR: At Close Quarters" Could you now, in a few words, give us an idea of this book and its main ideas?

[Andreotti] I would like to dedicate my main literary work of the year to the Soviet Union in order to contribute to an understanding of all the new things happening in your country which are arousing great interest in Italy and throughout the world. Like my other books, I wrote this one by remembering my personal contacts over the last 40 years. Experience provides a sufficiently thorough and at the same time balanced perspective for understanding events in Moscow and grasping both the elements of continuity and the new factors in events that are of such importance for the future of Europe and the world.

USSR-FRG Public Forum Ends in Bonn

PM1303120989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Forum Over"]

[Text] Bonn, 9 Mar—W. Schaeuble, head of the Federal Chancellery, described the first forum of the Soviet and FRG public that has just ended in Bonn as an important step toward improving FRG-USSR relations. Trust, mutual understanding, and reconciliation are key concepts in the FRG's policy toward the Soviet Union, he stressed.

The 3-day debate centered on problems of building an "all-European home," and diverse opinions were expressed regarding the substance of this concept and ways to implement it. However, it was noted that the participants were endeavoring to advance toward the attainment of this goal.

Soviet representatives drew attention to the USSR's new disarmament initiatives put forward in Vienna. It was stressed that the Soviet Union expects the same approach from Western countries.

Lively debates unfolded during a discussion of the state and prospects of Soviet economic reforms, as well as ways to develop Soviet-FRG economic cooperation. Many critical comments were made, along with concrete and constructive proposals.

A number of specific proposals were made with regard to broadening cultural and youth exchanges and cooperation between the two countries' historians, organizing television linkups, and considering environmental factors when setting up joint enterprises.

Summing up the results of the forum, Professor Kaiser, director of the German Foreign Policy Society Institute, said that the meeting had taken place in an atmosphere of frank debate and respect for both sides' opinions. It gave them an opportunity to outline ways to achieve reasonable compromises. That is its main purpose.

Communist Party Congress Opens in Madrid

LD1103215189 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Text] Madrid March 11 TASS—The extraordinary Third Congress of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain (PCPE) opened here on Saturday under the slogan "For the Unity of all working people, leftiwing forces and the Communists".

The congress is being conducted by a PCPE group headed by General Secretary Juan Ramos who did not participate in the January unifying congress of Spanish Communists. That congress decided to unite the Communist Party of Spain and representatives of PCPE headed by PCPE Chairman Ignacio Gallego who supported the programme for uniting the ranks of Spanish Communists.

The PCPE extraordinary congress will discuss matters connected with the political and socio-economic situation in the country, will adopt a political resolution, including an action programme in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people and for the unity of the Spanish Communist movement and left-wing forces. A new composition of the party's leading bodies will be elected.

When delivering a report Ramos pointed out positive changes taking place in the international atmosphere.

The concept of the new political thinking in relations between countries, put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev and the CPSU, and the important peace proposals by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are the decisive factor in the changes, he said. The new climate of relaxation of tension in international relations averts military ventures of imperialism and creates new conditions for class struggle in capitalist countries.

The PCPE, Ramos emphasised, resolutely supports the process of economic transformations and the deepening of democracy conducted by the CPSU in the Soviet Union. The policy of perestroyka is the Leninist renewal of Soviet society and the political system and the strengthening of socialism. Regarding itself as a component of the international communist movement, the PCPE will support all effective initiatives aimed at developing forms of coordination and joint work in the ranks of the communist movement generally and at regional level. The PCPE will promote the process of making Europe a nuclear-free zone where the principles of relations between countries will be based on peace and cooperation between peoples.

The socio-economic policy being pursued by the government of the Socialists was strongly criticised in the report.

The PCPE, the speaker pointed out, will continue to work on the establishment of a left-wing forces front, a programme of which will include in particular the defence of national sovereignty, independence and peace, the ensurance of employment, an agrarian reform, and respect for democratic freedoms.

Ramos expressed readiness to promote the unity of the ranks of Spanish Communists and the formation of a united communist party guided by Marxism-Leninism.

Political & Social

Elections Process, Candidates' Campaigns Continue

Zaykov 10 Mar Election Speech

LD1003210389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 10 Mar 89

["Speech of Lev Zaykov at meeting with representives of Moscow Party and Public organizations"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (TASS)—The Party approaches the elections with its own precise platform, formulated in the message from the CPSU Central Committee. This, as life confirms, is the reliable path, and the only path, to the renewal of our society and the improvement of the life of the people, and to stability in relations among states. This was emphasized by Lev Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of Moscow gorkom speaking today at a meeting with representatives of Moscow's party and public organizations as a candidate USSR people's deputy for the CPSU. The election of USSR people's deputies will be held on 26 March.

Speaking on the tasks the Party must solve in the course of restructuring, Lev Zaykov noted that restructuring has 'trodden on many people's toes' and affected the interests of particular persons. Moreover, restructuring has evoked resistance on the part of certain groups, primarily among the bureaucratic apparatus which makes up the 'framework' of the administrative command system, both in the economy and in the social set-up.

Lev Zaykov cited the restoration and reinforcement of the Party's authority and the renewal of the forms and means of its activities as one of the most important achievements of the changes that are under way. However, there is a paradox. He said that the Party, as the initiator and main integrating force of society, has come under the fire of criticism. The arguments about a multiparty system that are being thrust upon us are becoming something of a fashion. In this connection, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted that first, parties are not formed to the special order of individuals making political calls. They are the product of the historical development of specific social groups which have particular political interests. Second, he said, a multiparty system is not a guarantee of democratic processes in society. There are many countries in the world where many parties exist. However, democracy there is in the service of a specific class. What we need today is not discussions about a multiparty system, but rather the consolidation of society on the basis of the ideas of restructuring and the uniting of efforts for a breakthrough on its most important frontiers.

The activities of the so-called 'avantgardists' are by no means benefiting our common cause today. Their leftist-utopian sentiments are evidently fired by a fair share of arrogance and adventurism. By adroitly juggling with terminology, they are endeavoring to exploit the situation so as to win cheap popularity.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that the main thing today is not to retreat from the aims that have been set, but to deepen the processes of creating a healthier economy, of democratization and of glasnost, and to direct the social activity of all Soviet people into the channel of creative work.

The candidate people's deputy recalled that for decades the worker had been alienated from the means of production, with all decisions being taken 'at the top' and responsibility for them shifted 'downward.' During the long years of stagnation, people had been taught not to to take responsibility. That is why restructuring and radical economic reform are aimed against a system that makes everyone—both the worker and the economic manager—a 'cog' in a vast command machine, Lev Zaykov said. One of the main tasks of restructuring is to precisely tear out the economic roots of bureaucracy, to transfer the rights of master of production to the working people, and to overcome the alienation of man from the means of production in the economy, from politics and from culture.

Lev Zaykov went on to deal with specific areas of the work of the Moscow gorkom and of the labor collectives of the capital, directed toward resolving current problems of the national economy and tangibly improving the lives of the peoples of Moscow.

The comprehensive territorial-sectoral program "Progress-95" should play the leading role in improving the economy of Moscow, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted. The main point of the program, he stressed, is to ensure the intensification of the Moscow economy on the basis of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and the technical reequipping and modernization of enterprises.

Touching on the work of Party committees, including the gorkom and raykoms, Lev Zaykov said that they are learning to master political methods of leadership and act in conditions of broad democratization of work within the Party. The rejection of old and backward dogma in Party work has proved to be a difficult task for many Party workers and Party committees.

These are the main points for applying effort on which I will focus my attention as Moscow gorkom first secretary, particularly if I am elected to the supreme body of authority, Lev Zaykov said.

Yeltsin-Brakov Television Debate

LD1303223889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpts] In less than a fortnight the Soviet people will go to the polls to elect a body of supreme government. That will be on the 26th, and meanwhile the candidates have been meeting their electors. Radio Moscow's Sergey Goryachev looks at progress in the election campaign. [passage omitted]

[Goryachev] On Sunday night there was a television debate between Boris Yeltsin and Yevgeniy Brakov. Boris Yeltsin said he wanted to create within the supreme legislative body a mechanism that would guarantee the nation against a repetition of a personality cult, further bureaucratic pressure in everything that had caused suffering to the Soviet people. He said every citizen should regain the feeling of personal dignity. Also he suggested cuts in the military spending and a halt on some state projects with a view to rechanneling funds into the work of improving the quality of life. Only if the people could see drastic improvements in the near future, Boris Yeltsin said, would they acquire a profound belief in the restructuring. In conclusion, he called for the abolition of all privileges for the managerial apparatus, like countryside residences, special clinics, and [word indistinct] products. [passage omitted]

The two candidates revealed their sets of priorities as they replied to questions from the viewers. Asked what he would do in the first place if elected to congress, Yevgeniy Brakov said he would tackle social issues first. [passage omitted] Boris Yeltsin said he would begin with activities in congress by trying to get action on the key internal political problems. He stressed the need for passing a law on the press, a law on nationwide referendums, a law on youth, and a document ensuring free access to information for all citizens. Boris Yeltsin and Yevgeniy Brakov voiced these suggestions during their debate last Sunday, which was broadcast live by national television. Television shows of this kind, as well as press reports on progress in the election campaign, have been gaining ever greater popularity. [passage omitted]

Electoral Commission Session Held

PM1303123389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the Central Electoral Commission on Elections of USSR People's Deputies"]

[Excerpts] A routine session of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies was held 10 March in Moscow in the House of the Unions. [passage omitted]

The following took part in the commission session: A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; the leaders of public organizations; and representatives of the mass media.

Commission Official Praises Law

LD1403093789 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, March 14 TASS—The All-Union Organisation of War and Labour Veterans and the All-Union Lenin Children's Fund will elect their deputies to the new Soviet parliament on Tuesday. Under the new electoral law their representatives, together with deputies from other public organisations, will fill one third (750) of seats in the new 2,250-seat Congress of People's Deputies.

The election law has so far fared well and helps boost Perestroyka, Dmitriy Golovko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, believes.

"All members of our commission are unanimous that the wide opportunities provided by the Law on Elections have had real effect," he stressed. All parts of the country's population took part in nominating candidates. More than 8,000 candidates were put forward in all constituencies.

"The names of 2,895 contenders for 1,500 deputy mandates will be put on ballot-papers on March 26. About 400,000 electors took part in neighbourhood electoral meetings", Golovko said.

"The current election campaign is giving us important political experience", Golovko said. "The analysis of this experience, which is constantly conducted in our commission, shows that some provisions of the law may be misinterpreted and require revision. Instances of the manifestation of old stereotypes and attempts to hold electors' initiatives within customary frameworks still occur. All this will be studied most thoroughly in the Central Electoral Commission which will then present its proposals for further refining legislation on elections".

Choice 'Main Feature' of Elections

PM1403100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by I. Karpenko: "The Paths by Which We Make Our Choice. On the Eve of the Final Stage of the Election Campaign"]

[Text] The present election campaign, which is so very unusual for us, is nearly over: At the end of the week we will learn the first batch of the names of those who will represent our interests in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. They will be the candidates of public organizations, whose electoral plenums and conferences begin on 11 March.

And while candidates' traditional meetings with their voters are taking place both in public organizations and in okrugs, such an unusual election struggle is taking place, which, perhaps, most strikingly demonstrates the main feature of this campaign—choice.

There were meetings before. Bigraphies and programs from one side; instructions, complaints, and even—the utmost in personal courage—timid criticism—by the other. But there was a significant difference: We were meeting not with candidates, but with future deputies. That is how the papers used to put it, I recall. Not so much because of ingrained and cultivated civic naivety, but rather because no one had any doubts once they had been nominated. Neither those who, as a leading collective, had been "granted the honor to nominate," nor the individual nominee. Our attitude was very neatly summed up by the well-known ironical formula: "The one they need is the one they will choose."

Now it is we who are doing the choosing.

It turns out to be very necessary. And I believe this axiom needs no arguments—you only had to experience just once the atmosphere of the recent okrug meetings and the current election meetings, the intense passion and emotional range of which atmosphere can only be conveyed by television.

It is not a matter of emotion, of course, but of the very essence of what is happening. At meetings now, two and sometimes several contenders have to demonstrate their right to the sole deputy's mandate. Fight for support and, consequently, votes. But we choose, yes, choose, long before the vote, the one to whom it is safest to entrust our concerns and mandate; we discuss openly, in the manner of glasnost whether the aspirant's personality corresponds to our current notions of what a deputy to the country's supreme organ of power should be like.

Sure, each of us has his own attitude toward the current election campaign, his own view of its results.

In some cases it may be negative, adverse. It cannot be any other way: If there is a struggle there must be losers as well as winners. And the election struggle itself was by no means an ideal process — many aspects of it were clearly throwbacks to the past, which, of course, gives no grounds for unbridled optimism.

However, they are elections, real elections, not just preparation of the populace for a 100-percent vote. But even this is not the main factor. The main thing is that **in many respects it is to the present election campaign that we owe the awakening of the political awareness of society and the acquisition of civic dignity by millions of people**, without which neither restructuring, nor a rule-of-law state, nor, indeed, democracy is conceivable.

The new attitude toward elections and the different demands on the personality of the deputy and on his role in running the state, were bound to affect the composition of the roster of registered candidates. This is clearly shown by Central Electoral Commission data.

Statistics, tables, and figures are not, of course, the most attractive reading, but they provide a wealth of quite authentic material for analysis and conclusions about who is going to be on our ballot papers on election day, for thoughts about which candidates we should elect.

First of all, let us look at what use we made of the chief, leading democratic principle of the new law—election choice. In public organizations (these figures have already been made know) there are 880 registered candidates for 750 seats. So each contender has... 0.15 of an opponent. To be frank, there is not much choice in public organizations. But there have never been elections in them before, so this is largely due to election commission members' total lack of experience and, unfortunately, to their slender knowledge of the procedural features of the new law. "You see," one commission member told me, "the list of nominees was nearly 10 times greater than the number of seats. The danger was that the election would drag on ad infinitum and no one would get the requisite number of votes. After all, we have not had okrug meetings...."

In fact, okrug commissions were faced with exactly the same appalling prospect. But by no means all of them realized straightaway that a surplus of candidates can be easily eliminated by a second vote at the same election. Whereas seats remaining vacant after a vote, and this is perfectly possible, mean more serious consequences—a repeat election, in which the entire election campaign has to be effectively rerun.

What is the situation now in national and territorial okrugs following the meetings at which candidates were officially registered? Remember that more than 7,500 candidates were nominated by labor collectives for 1,500 seats (5 contenders per seat)—4,446 candidates in territorial okrugs and 3,112 in national territorial okrugs. Some 2,899 people, almost two contenders per seat, passed through the "screen" of okrug meetings.

On 6 March there were 1,450 registered candidates in territorial okrugs and 1,449 in national territorial okrugs. I would emphasize—"on 6 March there were." The thing is that some officially registered contenders have now, at the final stage of the election campaign, started to withdraw for various reasons. This is not prohibited by law, of course. And the reasons can be perfectly valid. Is it always so? After all, there is a moral aspect to abandonment of the election struggle. A person has been nominated by a labor collective and told to represent its interests and has been given a mandate. At okrug election meetings the candidate has received the support of representatives of collectives throughout the region who have checked his program and his personal fighting qualities. It would be fair if such candidates were to give their comrades a public explanation of the reasons for their withdrawal.

Anyway, two contenders in the final round is a perfectly normal outcome by any international standards. I personally consider two names on the ballot paper on election day the most favorable outcome. Two is the optimum. As long as they really are the best and win a honest struggle, of course. And one would want it to be not "on average," but actually the case, as it is now in 952 okrugs. There are three candidates in 109 okrugs.

Unfortunately, in 384, that is, in more than one-fourth of the okrugs, there will not be an election struggle. Of course, being the sole candidate on a ballot paper is no longer a guarantee that one is bound to become a deputy. But this throwback to the past—turning an election into a vote—clearly does not benefit democracy. Nor does it benefit the candidate, who has lost a good opportunity for really open, intense, but businesslike contacts with voters, an opportunity to acquire experience of political struggle for his beliefs and program which will now be essential in the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and in the country's Supreme Soviet.

To be fair, it should be said that it is by no means only top leaders of regions and major enterprises who are sole candidates in their okrugs (these suggestions have been made at many election meetings). Some 18 percent of them are workers or kolkhoz members, 9 percent are cultural, press, or health workers, 5 percent are servicemen, and so on. In short, by no means everything can be explained, as has often been done, by a desire to ensure that the "boss" has an easy ride to a mandate. I believe everything is much more complex in this varied situation. The old fear of an abundance of candidates has certainly been a factor, as well as our confusion and civic passivity in the initial weeks of nomination. It was in that brief period in the okrugs that they tried, having registered one or two candidates, to complete the dangerous stage of the campaign early and, as one reader put it in a letter, "they were in a hurry to hoist the white flag."

What happened, on average, in the okrugs and what changes has the current election campaign already made to the the body of contenders? In order to compare one needs a starting point, an overall system of coordinates. The only one we have at the moment is the results of the last elections. Of course, the figures themselves will change in the course of voting in societies and okrugs. But the general proportions and trends have now clearly taken shape.

Of the total number of candidates registered in okrugs 25.4 percent are workers and 11.6 percent are kolkhoz members (at the last election, in 1984, it was 35.2 and 16.1 percent, respectively); 16.3 percent are women (it was 32.6 percent); 2.2 percent are Komsomol members and 85.3 percent are Communists (at the last election it was considerably fewer—71.4 percent).

The first conclusion that one inevitably draws from this comparison is that the old election system, where literally all the candidate's parameters (social, age, sex, party membership, and so on) were planned by order "from on high," certainly produced a more balanced representation of all strata and sections of the population in the Supreme Soviet. But I believe the country's supreme organ of power need not necessarily be an accurate structural model of society.

There can be a variety of views here: Various options are possible, as the saying has it. But it seems to me that the people's freedom of expression and democratic elections will always always make substantial changes in the composition of the body of deputies, while our sympathies are adjusted in accordance with society's political, economic, social, and others tasks at the present stage of its development and reflect our notions of the personality of a deputy who is capable of effectively tackling these tasks in his state activity. And this, of course, is not a shortcoming, but a massive advantage compared with elections "according to a preordained schedule [po raznaryadke]."

The increase in the number of Communists among the candidates, a surprise to many people, is in my view a striking confirmation of this. Restructuring—now the main task for the entire country—was thought up, proposed, and initiated by the party. The first to get involved in it were the most politically active members of society, and it is they whom the party has always united in its ranks, irrespective of social affiliation—the intelligentsia, workers, kolkhoz members. So the increased number of party members as candidates is perfectly natural. It is very typical in this connection that exactly the same trend can be discerned among the candidates from public organizations and the proportions are the same.

The combined data (for okrugs and public organizations) for 6 March are as follows: workers— 23.2 percent; kolkhoz members—11.3 percent; women—17.8 percent; Komsomol members—2.3 percent; Communists and candidates members of the CPSU—86 percent.

Of course, one would like to see more workers and kolkhoz members in the body of deputies—their public role will increase rapidly in view of the transition now under way from elaboration of the theoretical principles of restructuring to their practical implementation. I do not doubt that today there are enough leaders among them perfectly capable not only of tackling any problem in a mature amd statesmanlike way and upholding their own position at the Congress of People's Deputies, but also of working productively in the Supreme Soviet. It is just that they did not immediately grasp the essential point of the law (indeed, does that apply only to workers?) and did not believe straight away that it was serious and what they could and must do. I am sure it will be different at the elections to republican and local soviets.

Too few women have been nominated candidates to the supreme organ of power. This is not a gallant compliment on international [women's] day. I sincerely believe that a woman is worth two men as a fighter for the social program. Because for us men, for example, the food program or the shortage of washing powder or soap, although, of course, acute problems, are somewhat abstract. But for women they mean long hours standing in line (after work, of course) and the real physical suffering of slaving over the washtub.

The miserable two percent for the Komsomol make one seriously think that young people need to be given room to develop—after all, it is easier for them to adapt their brains to restructuring, they need management experience, and one would like to see the baton.... But there I go again, apparently hankering after the "preordained schedule" system—fair shares for all. No, let it be the way the people decide. Who is going to allow a clampdown on democracy now? But everyone must consider all these things seriously now, before casting his vote.

We will actually be choosing. Indeed, for the first time, who we choose will be entirely up to us.

So the new Law on Elections has not turned out successfully in all respects; there is much in it that remains "raw" and that does not correspond to our present-day notions of democracy. But as long as the law exists it must be observed unswervingly. In the end even these notions about democracy were given to us by the current election campaign.

...Recently, in a television program, the announcer, not without irony, asked Central Election Commission Secretary Yu. Ryzhov: Is the new law good or bad?

In my view, the answer was better than the question:

"It functions...."

But it is also essential to know how it functions in order to avoid failures and "leakage" of democracy now and in the future. And we must think and talk about this right now.

Latvian Candidate Discusses Issues

PM1003165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

["Summary of a Conversation" with Arnold Klautsen, first secretary of Riga party gorkom, reprinted from RIGAS BALSS of 24 February 1989, under the rubric "From the Local Press": "Vigorous Accountability"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A. Klautsen, first secretary of Riga party gorkom, has been registered as a candidate for USSR people's deputy for Moskovskiy No 291 National-Territorial Okrug (Riga). The readers of RIGAS BALSS will still have a chance to acquaint themselves with the candidate's election platform. But now, during a conversation over coffee, we will try to find out what the "top man" thinks about the prevailing economic situation and the sociopolitical trend. How does he regard the restructuring processes in the city? Is it the feeble wind, the reefs, or maybe the crew which is not made up entirely of professionals, that prevents our ship from reaching cruising speed? The views and emotional makeup that constitute the election platform of this candidate for the country's supreme legislative organ will shed light on the answers to these and other questions.

Economy

The precrisis period is past. Riga's industry is on the upswing. The dynamics of the main indicators are inspiring optimism.

Has there not been a spurt? It depends how you look at it. In the last year there has been a 7.7-percent increase in labor efficiency. Above-plan output exceeded R108 million, and this has all been achieved through more productive labor.

Another indicator of our economic progress is the fact that we hold first place in the USSR for the proportion of new output assimilated. Riga's machine builders, for instance, raised this indicator to 17.2 percent in 1988—that is virtually a 300-percent increase on the previous year's level.

True, there has been no spurt along the entire restructuring front. Industrial personnel have mastered the concept of economic accountability [khozraschet] but at present they have not mastered the vigor it entails. The second model, the lease, and state cooperation are excellent ways of accelerating the economy. They cannot be bought in kind anywhere—we have to create them ourselves on the basis of well-known blueprints. If you do not find these forms attractive, you can, of course, seek others. Just do not go to sleep on the job!

Unfortunately, individuals and even entire labor collectives are still half-asleep. The leaders have been confined by ministerial instructions, so why do party organizations shirk and, even when they do act, act slowly and as if they are mesmerized? Are they frightened of the instructions? Yet party members have one instruction—the Statutes—which tell us, incidentally, to be effective and take a hard line on everything that impedes progress.

We are faced with making the difficult choice between ministerial instructions and the party Statutes. A no win situation....

People are now talking about the possibility of creating a free economic zone in the region. This is an attractive idea, but who is it designed for? Enterprise is its motive force. My sleepy comrades probably assume that it is sufficient to vote "for" and that they are riding a white charger to the kingdom of plenty, as in the fairy tale.

As of April every enterprise can trade independently on foreign markets. They can, but will they? It is harder to overcome foreign competitors than native bureaucrats. The overwhelming majority of enthusiasts in favor of autonomous importing and exporting and hard-currency self-financing will have to make a "diagnosis" or even a "revision" of the enterprise motor.

Bold accounting, resourcefulness, inventiveness, and efficiency are the be-all and end-all of enterprise. Boldness is in short supply, but what about the other components? They are also in the "red." This is shown by the example of the commissioning of new housing in the city. The plan has collapsed. This has been brought about by miscalculations in management at all levels, including the party gorkom. The party has given the soviets managerial prerogatives, but not according to the ritual of automatic "job-swapping." Everyone has left his post. As a result a specific sector of construction management is left, figuratively speaking, without security protection.

The factors on the "debit" side include the Latvian Council of Ministers' rash, willful policy of distributing resources for housing construction by the own-resources method . For instance, one-fourth of the supply of cement for the "Housing-90" program was quickly sent to an outside consumer. Are we ensuring the new priorities by the old methods, then? The plans for the construction of housing for the townspeople were established democratically but foiled administratively. There are no objections to agriculture being a priority—but there are objections to foreign economic activity as a priority. And these objections are principled! Republic Supreme Soviet deputies and members of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee are aware of them. But....

Commodities

There are more and more goods in plant production lines, but the reverse is true with regard to the supply of goods on store shelves. The reason is understandable: Purchasing power is rising faster than producers' capacities. The inverse should be true. We are putting pressure, as far as we can, on the production of consumer goods but we have the gut feeling that under conditions of chronic shortages we will be unable to stabilize the local commodity market until we streamline distribution relations.

More prohibitions? Yes, but let's see whom and what they concern. I do not regret limiting the material interests of an insignificant minority who have become skilled in buying up cheap commodities, for instance, bearing the brand name "Sarkanays Rits" and then subsequently reselling them, after minimal finishing touches, somewhere in Murmansk—at top market prices, of course.

The shortage of some commodities has been caused by the fact that retailers have, in particular, begun to engage in small-scale wholesale trade on behalf of cooperative workers. This form of buying and selling must be legalized and a network of special stores opened up for cooperative comrades. This is elementary! It is obvious that there is no need for complex calculations using computers or multiple managerial schemes to do away with the artificial shortage of zippers, for instance.

Economical managerial policy—at the stage when our economy is experiencing shortages—is also necessary with regard to public catering cooperatives. We give them most favored status, and that is correct. But we must not offend housewives against this pleasant backdrop. We must step up accounting and control in the distribution of food in short supply in order to satisfy housewives and secure cooperative workers.

So should we once again use the willful methods that we have condemned? No, not willful but strictly juridical methods.

Laws rule in a rule-of-law state. The latter still does not exist, but the political reform is geared toward ensuring that this does occur.

Democratic laws rule in a democratic state. The latter still does not exist in our country but the electoral reform aims to ensure this.

The People's Front

This is an influential political force within the republic. Does it constitute the political opposition to the party? Rather, to the party apparatus. They are worthy rivals in the power struggle, although the following point must be clarified here: The apparatus is not struggling for power—on the contrary, it is handing it over completely to the soviets. It is a question of a struggle for the mandates for deputy—that is the point of the emergent political confrontation.

The party initiated restructuring and is implementing restructuring. The key to this lies in the decisions of the 19th party conference rather than in the starry-eyed theories and ultimatums issued by all manner of demagogues and extremists. You cannot describe them as worthy political opponents. Why? Because they are inclined to employ unworthy methods and inadmissible means in their struggle. For instance, these fellows see nothing shameful in involving schoolchildren and other minors in political actions—not only people who do not have the right to vote for reasons of age but also those who are barred from voting for the natural reason of passports.

We still have to investigate who is more dangerous for restructuring—the demagogues and extremists affiliated to the People's Front or the bureaucrats and stagnationists glued to the party.

Stalinists?

If by Stalinists you mean not merely those people who believe in a concrete personality but also those who profess the entire system of inhuman, totalitarian, and chauvinistic views, these apologists for Stalinism are, of course, the antipode of restructuring. They constitute our internal hard-line opposition, which sometimes hides its true face and is therefore even more dangerous than the external opposition—in the person of the anticommunists, who do not conceal their creed.

The exacerbation of the national question serves the Stalinists' purpose. Incidentally, it ripened in the incubator of Stalinism and restructuring has only smashed the rotten egg. It seems that the spreading odor acted on homegrown anticommunists like laughing gas. Delighted, they burst into ecumenical chatter but their tongues began to falter. It transpired that "migrants" are to blame for all our misfortunes!

A surreptitious change of concept is a cheap, undistinguished trick but one that deals a death-blow to superficial minds. It is not only elderly extremist theoreticians but also callow hotheads who are beginning to claim that the "Russian occupiers are to blame for everything." The stench from these words is so noxious that one is momentarily mesmerized by the idea of the Stalinists and their followers, who included, as is well known, several of the indigenous population.

Laughing gas is intoxicating, produces fainting fits, and destroys the personality. Similar symptoms are also observed in cases of chauvinist intoxication. Probably because both syndromes have one and the same prime cause.

Interfront?

Let us ask outright: Isn't the gorkom first secretary the "father of Interfront"? No, neither he nor any other workers in the city gorkom have had any part in the formation of this organization.

It is a fact that the fronts have fixed the boundaries. Where has the collective's party leader found himself a cosy spot?

He does not need to find himself a cosy spot, he just needs to make a temporary crossing, albeit while under fire. A substantial bridge is also needed but that is the future concern of the entire party organization.

The vigor of restructuring is expended wastefully on verbiage between the People's Front and Interfront instead of on smashing the concrete obstacles between the people and the administrative system, the working people and the bureaucracy.

It is not enough to rail against the central departments for the environmental crisis—energy has to be conserved for voluntary unpaid work on constructing the city's antipollution installations, which must be started up next year, even if we have to sweat blood.

It is not enough to be indignant over nationalist manifestations—energy must be expended on an intensive study of the Latvian language, for how can you understand the people's soul without knowing their language, not to mention their experiences!

You have put down roots here, so respect the land that feeds you and heed the soft tones of its heart—why is it weeping and why is it sighing?

He who scorns language risks his reputation as a decent man.

So are we to expend valuable energy only on concrete actions? No, there must be no over-simplification. Oh, this childish illness of over-simplification in restructuring! It is probably even clear to a child that you cannot avoid verbal skirmishes at any time, let alone a time of restructuring.

Why and to what purpose are words wasted on some speeches whose output is only comparable to a mountain waterfall? That is the question! It is good if the speech affords support to restructuring. But bad if it is to no purpose, just for the sake of making a noise, not to mention more rotten options. We, party workers, should be on the alert in such cases. As the saying goes, some things are unfathomable.

"Labvakar"?

Professional, interesting, lovely!

But, alas, there are some subjects and episodes where political mistakes are made. From whose viewpoint? From the viewpoint of the party gorkom first secretary. Documentary shots without a qualified commentary, kindling first nationalist, then chauvinistic sentiments—that is not wise. That does our cause no good.

No one encroaches on talented journalists' freedom of creativity. But, surely, the first secretary has the right to freely express his opinion? So within the limits of this freedom I would like to wish that the honored leaders of Latvian television checked the beauty of a particular shot more often against the guidelines of sensible policy.

Sensible policy is democratic because it unites people and cements society together on the basis of humane ideas.

Sensible policy expresses the interests of the people, interests that because of the people's deep-seated earthly moral nature cannot be ambitious, bloodthirsty, or selfish. It is only individual groups' political or economic interests that appear in this negative way, if at all.

There is nothing strange in the fact that, since they do not have their own press organ, they propagandize their views and aims via the channels of mass communication. That is normal. It is abnormal when a national channel becomes primarily a group's mouthpiece.

Cases where party committees' press organs "avoid" pluralism and, thus, the party's ideological line look especially strange. Nothing good comes of this. Party organizations are sleeping!

RIGAS BALSS? It did "avoid" pluralism, but now judging by the balance of diverse articles, the editorial compass' arrow is pointing to "pluralism." So, the newspaper is following the lead of the party's ideological course.

The all-union party conference elaborated reliable directions. You will not run aground using them. If you have a team of professionals, of course.

A final question: What qualities of personality, character, and temperament seem most attractive? Conscientiousness, decency, and optimism.

I myself am an optimist. An optimist believes that there are more good than bad people.

What is the calculation based on? On the experience of personal dealings with representatives of the working class and the technical and creative intelligentsia (last year I visited and spoke at 60 labor collectives). And it is based on one other thing—the conviction that restructuring will win through.

Ukrainian Candidate on Lvov Oblast

AU0803131589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
7 Mar 89 p 6

[Interview with Yakov Pogrebnyak, first secretary of the Lvov CPSU Oblast Committee and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, by V. Jancura, Bratislava PRAVDA permanent correspondent in Moscow: "Lvov Before Elections"; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Jancura] The Western media noted in particular that during his visit to the Ukraine Mikhail Gorbachev twice mentioned cases of sabotage in the supply of the domestic market. Incendiary radios have been drawing extensive conclusions from this. The Ukraine and its leadership are allegedly sabotaging the policy of restructuring....

[Pogrebnyak] Nonsense. For example, during his visit to Lvov, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev highly praised the efforts of the oblast party organization and all working people to realize the 27th Congress program and the resolution of the 19th CPSU Conference. Lvov, and the entire oblast, are implementing the tasks of the 5-Year Plan and its main indicators in an exemplary manner. Yes, here, too, there are continuing problems with meat (although there is enough meat in the markets and in cooperative sales outlets—but there it costs R6 and not R2 as in the state shops), and many kinds of consumer goods are lacking. For the most part this is the woeful legacy of the period of stagnation and we are not able to cope with it as fast as we would like. In other instances shortages are the consequence of various rumors and shopping fever. For example, detergents are currently in short supply, although production has increased in the meantime. We have found that a number of households have stocks to last them a whole year, with the result that other households do not have enough....

Our general secretary very often depicts organizational incompetence, passivity, or lack of initiative on the part of some local functionaries as sabotage. And, unfortunately, there are also functionaries like that in our oblast—despite the considerable turnover among cadres. We intend to part company with them. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] What do you expect of the next session of the CPSU Central Committee?

[Pogrebnyak] Fundamental changes in the party's agricultural policy, because it is high time to move on from half-hearted measures to radical measures.

[Jancura] Do you have family farms in mind?

[Pogrebnyak] I mean, above all, putting an end to the directive-administrative management of agriculture and the imbalanced exchange between the countryside and cities. [passage omitted]

We have had very good experience with kolkhozes and the new forms of cooperation among them in Lvov Oblast. We are convinced that they have not at all exhausted their development potential yet. [passage omitted]

Family farms.... You know, they are most suitable for the depopulated Russian black-earth areas or Baltic sloping meadows. Here we want to practice lease relations within the framework of intraenterprise economic accountability, that is, within the framework of kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

[Jancura] The elections for USSR deputies are approaching. In some local okrugs there is only one name on the slate. What does it mean? Is everything perhaps going to remain as it used to be?

[Pogrebnyak] Not at all. Originally, 45 candidates were seeking the 9 deputy mandates for our oblast; in some electoral okrugs there were 5-6 candidates for one place in the beginning. [passage omitted] Only in two out of 9 okrugs is there one candidate. Why? Because the rivals gave up. In the two cases, which we checked, they were concerned that they would not stand favorable comparison with such strong competition. [passage omitted]

[Jancura] The last question: Not long ago there emerged a group calling itself the Ukrainian Popular Movement For Restructuring. What is your opinion of its program?

[Pogrebnyak] In the form that it was published in the weekly LITERATURNA UKRAINA it is unacceptable. Yes, in contrast to programs of similar "popular fronts," its authors recognize the party's leading role. But on reading the document more closely, you will ascertain that this is only a declaration—the spirit and the content of the rest of the text goes far beyond the framework of the CPSU program and the USSR Constitution. An expanded session of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic rightly called the document political plagiarism. It does not take the interests of the other nations living in the Ukraine—millions of people!—sufficiently in consideration. It comes forward with various economic demands, but presents nothing that could realistically make it possible to fulfill them. Regarding the statehood of the Ukrainian language, that issue can be satisfactorily resolved without any "popular movement." The appropriate commissions of the republic's Supreme Soviet, which will assess it at its session this year, are already addressing this point.

As far as our oblast is concerned, I can assure you that we have no serious problems with interethnic relations. Yes, here, too, there are several clearly nationalist and even anti-Soviet-oriented little groups that are active. The majority of the local intelligentsia, as well as workers and farmers, condemn their activities. This makes it possible for us to concentrate all creative forces on the solution of real problems—on the most important tasks of restructuring. It is with this determination that we are entering the elections.

Informal 'Solidarity' Election Methods

PM1403102189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Captain 2d Class A. Pilipchyk under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Ballyhoo at the Crossroads, or the Methods Used by the 'Informals' from the Kaliningrad 'Solidarity' Society"]

[Text] Kaliningrad—A milkmaid and an admiral, a presser from the Yantarnyy combine, a scientist, a sovkhoz director, a lessee pig rearer, the chief of a repair and construction administration, the director of a primary school, the captain-director of a trawler, and the director of a vocational and technical college.... Some 14 people were fighting for the deputy's seat for Kaliningrad's no 177 electoral okrug. Its results gave rise to a stormy reaction from the participants in the okrug election meeting: Only one candidate—Admiral V. Ivanov, commander of the Baltic Fleet—collected the necessary number of votes. The absence of an alternative candidate was seen by some representatives of the voters as the torpedoing of the relevant provision enshrined in the law on elections....

Today passions pertaining to the nomination of the fleet commander are not abating. They regularly spill out unto Kaliningrad's central square, which has been chosen by the members of the "Solidarity" society for assisting restructuring, which actively opposes the nomination of Admiral V. Ivanov as candidate USSR people's deputy. The street crossroads have become a kind of symbol of the crossing of opinions.

Of itself this no longer puts anyone in a state of political shock: After all, it is not only roads but also people's interests which intersect or go in different directions. The multiplicity of viewpoints and their comparison are an essential condition for ensuring that the process of democratization merges, from impasses and one-way streets, into a broad highway. In which direction are the "Solidarity" activists calling voters and according to what "traffic rules" are they conducting agitation against the candidate and his platform?

...The posters hung up for all to see urge passers by: "When you're deprived of a vote, vote against," "elections without choice." And further on you simply can't believe your own eyes: "For hurried work to be a permanent feature, the soviets need the admiral," "before they impose admirals and colonels on us, friend, remember the stories of Greece and Chile." An elderly man angrily addresses a member of "Solidarity":

"Son, I'm in favor of democracy, too, but I advise you to take down those posters...."

And I thought: It is the okrug commission, and not people who happen to be passing by, who should see to it that the election struggle is waged within the framework of socialist morality and the strict observance of legality, including in the selection of means of agitation.

The inscriptions insulting the honor of Admiral V. Ivanov and the Armed Forces are disappearing. But to all appearances the position of the society for assisting (assisting, is it?) restructuring remains unchanged: discrediting the candidate people's deputy by any means and linking his name with stagnation in the voters' consciousness.

A familiar motif. You form the impression that some informal associations are not averse to making themselves out to be virtually the authors of the revolutionary transformations in our society. The vigorous activity of Kaliningrad's "Solidarity" began to be felt in the oblast center in the second half of 1988. The chronology here is important in order to stress yet again that the independent movement was born at the height of restructuring and it has borrowed from its theoretical baggage the themes for several clauses of its "charter." A few of the society's actions—in particular persistent demands for the abolition of the oblast health department hospital (known in the city as a special hospital for the elite) and its handing over to children and invalids—have brought it a certain moral capital. But it is difficult to agree with the strident tone with which its members sometimes conduct polemics with their opponents. "Electoral farce," "formation of a new elite for the pasture of the herd of the people" [as published], "mental cripples"—that in many ways is the society's "political" vocabulary.

On familiarizing myself with the society's "charter" I paid attention to the following paragraph: "The society promises its members that it will protect their dignity." A characteristic stipulation—its members.... What about the dignity of those who do not belong to the circle outlined? It looks as though the committee is little concerned for it. Here is one more example of the arbitrary treatment of human rights. In calling on citizens to go to the polling stations 26 March, the society's activists went so far as to recommend that, disregarding their personal attitude toward candidate V. Ivanov and his program, citizens should cross out "his solitary surname" from the ballot paper and thus vote not against the candidate but against stagnant antidemocratic "elections." That is how these "activists" see restructuring.

The present elections have introduced to our life much that is new and unaccustomed and which contrasts sharply with days of old. We cannot fail to see this. Something else can also be noted openly: Not everything in the electoral system has yet been adjusted, not everything has been envisaged by the law. That is understandable—democracy was the most neglected subject in our political and public institutions. And now we must make up our "academic" arrears.

Yes, people are learning democracy in various ways. But it looks as though "Solidarity" is engaged in teaching others discord rather than consolidation—not in the search for constructive paths, but in something else.

Aviation Marshal Campaigns in Vilnius

PM0903151989 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 2 Mar 89 p 3

[ELTA report: "Meeting With Marshal of Aviation"; date not given]

[Text] A meeting recently took place at the Vilnius Garrison Officers' Mess between war and labor veterans and Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yefimov, twice hero of the Soviet Union, candidate USSR people's deputy, commander in chief of the country's Air Force, and deputy defense minister. The All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans has proposed him as a candidate deputy.

The meeting was opened by Grigoriy Ushpolis, hero of the Soviet Union, chairman of the Lithuanian Republican Council of War and Labor Veterans.

The candidate's agent—Major General of Aviation V. Maldov—familiarized the participants in the meeting with the career of Marshal A. Yefimov, talked about his services in the Great Patriotic War, and reported on his vigorous public activity.

"In 1938, as a 15-year old, A. Yefimov took a trip in a sporting plane for the first time," V. Maldov pointed out. "In more than 50 years he has never tired of flying. As a military pilot he flew on 222 combat missions in action against the fascist occupiers. In 1943 he linked his life to the Communist Party. In the postwar years A. Yefimov served in various posts in military aviation units stationed in the Baltic area."

The marshal has done and is doing a great deal as commander in chief of the Air Force, showing concern to create and assimilate new combat hardware, train high-class pilots, boost their professional skill, and raise aviator troops.

Marshal of Aviation A. Yefimov, candidate deputy, thanked Lithuania's veterans for their lofty trust and wished them good health and success in rearing young people in the spirit of revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions. The guest answered numerous questions from the participants in the meeting.

The following spoke at the meeting with the candidates for USSR's people's deputy: Journalist I. Kasyukov, a friend from the marshal's youth from the same district, now living in Vilnius; Personal Pensioner P. Dmitriyev; I. Osenniy, an instructor from the Lithuanian Civil Aviation Political Department and a former war pilot, who served in the same regiment with A. Yefimov during the war; Colonel (Retired) A. Samoylov; A. Mishakov, chairman of Novovilnyasskiy Council of War and Labor Veterans; war veterans A. Butasov and M. Prochukhanov; and A. Chastyakov, secretary of Lithuanian Communist Party Vilnius Gorkom.

The following took part in the meeting: K. Kayris, chairman of the republican Council of War and Labor Veterans; K. Kachonas, first deputy chairman of Vilnius Gorispolkom; and representatives of the Baltic Military District and Vilnius Garrison.

Baklanov's Tour of Khabarovsk Kray Continues

Visits Jewish Autonomous Oblast

OW1003181789 Khabarovsk Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] The course of restructuring, the resources to be mastered for increasing work efficiency, and the obstacles hindering the realization of set social programs and slowing down progress—these were the questions considered at the meeting yesterday of Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with working people of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast.

Special attention was paid to key tasks in the social sphere: increasing foodstuff production, speeding up housing construction, and increasing consumer goods production. A frank discussion of topical problems and of concerns of the oblast's working people took place at the meeting of Comrade Baklanov with the party economic aktiv.

During his visit to Birobidzhan, Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov visited a knitwear factory and the Far Eastern Agricultural Machinery [Dalselmash] Plant. At his meetings with the working people of these enterprises, Comrade Baklanov answered questions about the situation in the Baltic republics, the development of interethnic relations, additional aid for the Jewish Autonomous Oblast by supplying medical equipment and providing personnel [kadry], prospects for the development of important modern industries, and the development there of a base for scientific and technical progress.

A number of questions were answered by Pasternak, first secretary of the CPSU Kraykom; Korsunskiy, first secretary of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast Party Committee; (Chuyko), deputy minister of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the Eastern Regions [Minvostokstroy] of the USSR; and (Babin), chief of a department of the USSR State Planning Committee.

During Baklanov's visit to the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, a number of questions important to the oblast were considered and solved and specific tasks were set for ministries and departments.

Today Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov laid wreaths at the Eternal Flame [Vechnyy Ogon] Memorial at the Square of Glory [Ploshchad Slavy] of the kray center. Then he visited enterprises of the Agro-Industrial Complex of Khabarovskiy Rayon.

Oleg Dmitriyevich Baklanov presided over a conference in the Khabarovsk CPSU Kraykom, which considered measures to intensify the production of consumer goods other than foodstuffs by changing spheres of activity of a number of enterprises, as well as measures aimed at solving other social problems. The main attention was paid to Amursk City. Reports made by Belousov, USSR minister of machine construction; (Chernov), USSR deputy minister of defense industry; and Ivanov, deputy minister of the USSR electronic industry, were heard at the conference. Specific tasks were set for ministries, the USSR Planning Committee, and party and Soviet organs of the kray to elaborate on all questions on changing the sphere of activity of a number of enterprises of the defense complex and direct assets and industrial capacities that are being freed to solve first priority social tasks.

All this involves the manufacture by Amursk enterprises of 250,000 to 300,000 refrigerators annually, of processing equipment needed by enterprises of the agroindustrial complex and the light industry, of machine tools capable of multiple footwear repair operations, and of washable wall paper, linoleum, lacquer, paints, solvents, accessories, and other goods to meet the demands of the people and construction organizations of the kray. It was proposed that Amursk enterprises speed up housing construction by using the economic method. Capital investments are to be directed at construction of engineering structures for the city as a whole, water supply and sewage systems, and other important social welfare projects. The construction of new capacities for the production of consumer goods will be carried out at an increased speed.

The conference also considered a number of similar questions related to Khabarovsk.

Speech at Party Aktiv Published

PM1303160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 2-3

[TASS report: "The Far East's Potential at the Service of Restructuring"]

[Text] Khabarovsk, 11 Mar—A meeting of the kray's party aktiv with O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, was held here today.

It was opened by V.S. Pasternak, first secretary of Khabarovsk CPSU Kraykom. The speakers—Ye.N. Khoroshilov, first secretary of Komsomolsk-na-Amure CPSU Gorkom; N.I. Shteyn, seamstress at Birobidzhan Sewn Goods Factory; V.L. Fomin, director of the Musical Comedy Theater; I.P. Rosugbu, [name as published] secretary of the "60 Let Oktyabrya" Kolkhoz Party Committee; O.S. Klepitskaya, student of Khabarovsk State Medical Institute; Ye.V. Danilyuk, team leader at the "Krasnorechenskiy" Sovkhoz Dairy Complex; I.P. Druzhinin, director of the Institute of Water and Ecological Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Branch and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut V.V. Ryumin; S.A. Markarov, chief of the "Khabarovskvodstroy" Association; and others—spoke of unanimous support for the ideas and aims of restructuring. The Far Easterners raised questions in trenchant terms of how to increase the contribution of the region and of every working person to the cause of the whole people and how to overcome everything still hampering resolute progress.

O.D. Baklanov took the floor.

My stay in Khabarovsk Kray, my talks and meetings with the kray's inhabitants, and your speeches today have graphically shown how people's civic activeness, interest in resolving urgent problems, and desire to take an active part in all public and state affairs have increased, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said. It can be seen that restructuring is becoming the vital affair of the entire Soviet people.

A region of such importance to the country as the Far East has a specific program for developing productive forces and improving people's lives. It was formulated as a result of M.S. Gorbachev's tour of the Far East 2 and ½ years ago, and today its fulfillment is the most important task for the kray's Communists and all its working people.

Approaching the elections, the Central Committee clearly expressed its political election platform in the appeal to the party and the Soviet people. The CPSU election platform expresses the interests of the whole people, and its chief substance is the development and deepening of restructuring processes and tireless concern for enhancing the Soviet people's well-being.

As a candidate people's deputy from the CPSU, I am wholly and consistently guided in my work by the party's election program and will do everything in my power to ensure that it is implemented. The chief thing is to pool the efforts of the party and the people. Then any difficulties will be overcome, and the planned targets will be achieved. I am firmly convinced of this, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said.

He went on to dwell in detail on fundamental problems of the economy's social reorientation in the interests of the Soviet people. One of the central tasks of restructuring is to enhance well-being on the basis of developing the national economy and raising social production efficiency, he emphasized. The party holds dear and understands the people's vital needs, and so the improvement of Soviet people's lives is the core of the CPSU's entire socioeconomic policy.

The possibilities of accelerating the resolution of priority tasks—the food question, housing construction, and saturation of the market with goods—were analyzed from these positions.

The food problem remains an acute one for the kray, the speech pointed out. The efficiency of use of the great potential of agricultural production, which is continuing to grow, is still low. The proportion of foodstuffs imported from other parts of the country is hardly falling. There are great losses, crop farming standards are rising only slowly, and insufficient attention is paid to private subsidiary plots.

In the next few years fundamental transformations are to be implemented in the agrarian sector's economic relations and in utilization of the production potential that has been created. It is on this basis that a dynamic and stable increase in food production must be ensured.

Much is being done in the kray to resolve the housing problem. But the lines are still long, and almost 150,000 families are on the register. It is necessary to seek additional possibilities for a sharp increase in housing construction. Using one's own resources in construction is of real assistance here and must be actively developed, and individual construction involving citizens' resources must also be developed more widely.

The task of increasing consumer goods production must be resolved by more actively involving the kray's industrial enterprises in this. And yet almost 20 percent of them still produce no output that is directly related to people. It is important to increase the production volumes of goods, not their prices. The task of increasing production of these products must be constantly at the center of the attention of the kray's party organizations, for it is a social and political problem.

The speech devoted great attention to implementation of the political reform designed to ensure people's power and to implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy. It pointed out that people of many nationalities live and work amicably in the kray.

The period since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum has been crucial in many respects. They have been years of a fundamental reassessment of values, discoveries, and the widespread assertion of what is new, the speaker said. One of the chief practical results of the first stage of restructuring is the radical change in the atmosphere in society. People have come to feel that they are needed and involved in the country's destiny.

Analyzing the changes that have occurred in the national economy during this time, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized that the pace of production development has accelerated in leading sectors of the national economy.

National income is growing on a healthier basis. Economic accountability and self-financing, cooperatives and the lease, and diverse forms of socialist ownership are firmly entering economic life. The country's economy is acquiring signs of dynamism.

The party is making a big effort to achieve fundamental changes. The policy of the economy's social reorientation outlined by the 19th party conference is actively being implemented. The upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum is to discuss ways to further intensify and enhance the efficiency of agricultural production.

The defense sectors of industry, which are having an increasingly noticeable effect on strengthening the economy, are faced with great tasks in resolving urgent national economic problems. This is an important sign of the times.

The new defense doctrine adopted by the Warsaw Pact states and the favorable changes in the international situation brought about by our peace initiatives advanced by M.S. Gorbachev have created good preconditions for the more active participation of the defense complex in resolving society's social tasks, the speaker went on to say. We have gotten an opportunity to utilize part of the defense potential for peaceful purposes while, of course, in no way reducing the country's defense capability.

Consumer goods production is growing at a high rate in the defense sectors of industry. During the current 5-year plan their production will increase almost 50 percent—which will amount to one-fourth of the entire nationwide production of these goods.

Enterprises in the defense sectors already produce all Soviet television sets, approximately 98 percent of all refrigerators and freezers, approximately 80 percent of vacuum cleaners, and other goods.

As of 1988 the defense complex was entrusted with the crucial new task of ensuring the retooling of light industry, the food industry, and the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, trade, and public catering. Production of the necessary equipment is to be increased substantially within a short time, and socially important production facilities are to be brought up to advanced levels.

By 1995 the volume of production of equipment for light industry is to increase 130 percent—which is 50 percent more than has been manufactured in our country over the past 20 years. Some 4,500 types of new equipment are to be created for the processing sphere in the space of 8 years, including more than 3,000 in the defense industry. And no less than 90 percent of the equipment must meet world standards by that time.

Thus, the defense sectors of industry are already making a considerable contribution to developing the country's national economy and have, in fact, begun implementing elements of conversion.

The successful resolution of the food and housing problems, of the market's saturation with goods, and of other urgent tasks will depend on how quickly we are able to introduce and assimilate in all spheres of physical production the new management methods based on mutual interest, the deep penetration of enterprises by economically accountable relations, and their introduction in every work place. The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the growing significance of the influence of expanding foreign economic ties on the country's economy. Favorable opportunities have taken shape in Khabarovsk Kray for the broad development of mutually advantageous trade with nearby Japan and China and other neighbors. Full use must be made of these opportunities.

The transformations outlined can be implemented successfully only when the individual [chelovek] becomes the chief participant in them. Modern economic levers must be reinforced by everyone's high responsibility, by conscious discipline, and by a creative attitude to work. No one but we will resolve our problems. By working for restructuring, everyone works for himself, for the well-being of his family, for the prosperity of the motherland, O.D. Baklanov said.

One section of the speech was devoted to ecological problems, many of which are acute in the kray.

The movement for environmental conservation has been developing actively in recent years. However, we must not go to extremes here, for it is impossible to resolve at once all the questions that have accumulated over decades, and a balanced, calm approach is needed. It has now become obvious that it will be necessary to divert considerable funds to nature conservation measures, coordinating them with the resolution of important national economic problems.

There must be a clear-cut program for improving the environment in the kray. Its adoption is being delayed somewhat. Here the Far Easterners themselves must show greater persistence, particularly as an all-union comprehensive ecological program is now being drawn up.

It is inconceivable to bring the national economy up to a fundamentally new level and successfully implement the transformations outlined in the country without the resolute acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized. Only on the basis of fundamentally new technical solutions can the highest labor productivity and, consequently, also a high level of public well-being be achieved. However, there has not yet been a fundamental breakthrough in accelerating scientific and technical progress in the country.

Restructuring must result in everything advanced and progressive becoming the natural requirement of every sector, enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, cooperative, and management link. This is the demand of the times.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to dwell in detail on questions of foreign policy in his speech.

In conclusion O.D. Baklanov said:

Large-scale measures and progressive reforms must be backed up by everyone's responsibility, by conscious discipline, and by a creative attitude to work. All the healthy forces of our society, all nations and ethnic groups are uniting today on the party's platform. We must all work doggedly and persistently; give indifference and unbelief no room within ourselves; not balk at difficulties; not lose our heads when there are failures;

and advance the cause of socialism's renewal step-by-step. And the upcoming elections will be an important landmark of revolutionary restructuring.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary answered questions.

Hundreds of kilometers of snowy taiga separate the Khabarovsk Kray cities that O.D. Baklanov visited 5 through 11 March. In the region's major industrial center—Komsomolsk-na-Amure—he met with the working people of the Yu.A. Gagarin Aircraft Plant and the shipbuilders of the Lenin Komsomol Plant.

At the center of the frank talks, which did not bypass sharp issues, the opportunities for the giant enterprises' labor collectives and party organizations to help resolve urgent problems of the kray's socioeconomic development were revealed.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary approved the initiative of the shipbuilders, who have managed to achieve a decisive change for the better in providing working people with housing by taking economically accountable construction methods down to shop level.

However, the enterprise has so far failed to fully provide people moving into new apartments with fine, good-quality furniture. All the kray's enterprises without exception are obliged to produce goods for the people; this is the only correct way to overcome the shortage, O.D. Baklanov emphasized.

Equally close attention must now be devoted to ecological problems. In Komsomolsk there is an acute shortage of enterprise purification structures. As a result, city folk on the banks of a river full of water frequently suffer from a water shortage.

Poor use is made of the kray's unique vacation zones. This was stated, in particular, by working people in Nikolayevsk-na-Amure, where the CPSU Central Committee secretary also went. A conversation between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and patients and physicians in the local hospital was devoted to problems of improving medical services.

Tasks of accelerating the retooling of the kray's light industry enterprises were examined in conversations with workers and specialists of Birobidzhan Hosiery and Knitwear Factory, the largest in the region. Its output is in high demand, and there is a need for a stable increase in production. All sectors of the country's industry, including defense sectors, must participate directly in developing the kray's light and processing industries, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said.

The possibilities of further increasing production of agricultural equipment on the basis of such progressive forms of labor organization as the lease contract were discussed in detail at the "Dalselmash" Production Association.

At the Birobidzhan Philharmonic Society the CPSU Central Committee secretary had a meeting with representatives of the intelligentsia of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast. Musicians, writers, and artists were unanimous in the opinion that restructuring has opened up great new opportunities for the creative quest.

Its purpose, they said, is to augment socialist spiritual values and reflect in art the international fraternity of Soviet people.

In the settlement of Nekrasovka, not far from Khabarovsk, O.D. Baklanov familiarized himself with the work of the major hog- and livestock-raising complexes that supply the kray with meat products. Questions of enhancing the productivity of the region's agriculture and accelerating the development of the processing base were examined in detail.

People in Nekrasovka devote great attention to the countryside's social development and, above all, to individual housing construction with the use of long-term loans. The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited one such house.

The kray's strong and rapidly growing economic and intellectual potential must work still more efficiently for restructuring. This was the leitmotiv of a conversation with scientists and leading specialists of Khabarovsk scientific research institutes and design bureaus. The acceleration of the pace of scientific and technical progress is an essential condition for the national economy's stable development and an improvement in people's lives, its participants said.

Communists and all working people of the Soviet Far East are fully resolved to increase the region's contribution to creative work on the radical renewal of our society. There was discussion of how to make this work more specific and purposeful at a meeting between the CPSU Central Committee secretary and members of the party kraykom bureau and the krayispolkom. The working people of the kray's enterprises and organizations that the CPSU Central Committee secretary visited spoke of their determination to achieve a real change and a breakthrough in all areas. Revolutionary restructuring, they emphasized, has become the chief cause of every Soviet person and the meaning of his life.

O.D. Baklanov was accompanied on his tour of the kray by V.S. Pasternak and Krayispolkom Chairman N.N. Danilyuk.

Continued Coverage of Ryzhkov's W. Siberia Visit

Remarks on Market's 'Window-Dressing'

LD1103230189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; N. Chirkov report]

[Text] The trip by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov around western Siberia continues.

[Chirkov] Restructuring is most visible of all in the frankness of people and their heightened sensitivity toward any kind of embroidering and unfair shuffling. [video shows people at busy market, Ryzhkov shown amid group of people in market]

The market in Kemerovo only had to be shut for a day prior to the arrival of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to do some cleaning and painting and renovate the counters and immediately the grumbling started that they were window-dressing.

[Ryzhkov] Do you think that this window-dressing is really of interest to me, looking into things when they are already like this? I want to have a look at life, not window-dressing.

[Chirkov] This conversation took place yesterday at the mine. There they also said that they have chosen the best mine to show, although the Dzerzhinskiy mine is the most average mine you could find. For this market, for instance, the truth of life is such that meat, poultry, and vegetables can be bought here almost always, only the prices are exorbitant. The low-paid categories of workers and pensioners in particular cannot afford all this at all. By the way, someone has been spreading rumors persistently in our mining areas of late alleging that a higher retirement age will be set for miners.

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Shchadov, the minister of the coal industry, came to see me. He says I was in Vorkuta and this is rumored there too. Someone is spreading this rumor, that's all. We are not doing anything of the sort. Surely we can grasp that when previously someone worked in the mine up to age fifty we cannot just increase the pensionable age by 5 years, for instance. We are working on a law on pensions right now to try to improve pension matters from 1991. Even yesterday making a speech to the chemists I said you know, maybe we should cut down in another area, but still give pensioners the opportunity to raise their pensions. Therefore we have to save money, that is earn money in order to make it possible to take the matter of pensions in hand by the next 5-year plan. [video shows Ryzhkov talking to people standing round him]

Addresses Power Engineering at GES

LD1203220589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is continuing his visit to Altay Kray. He visited the Katunskaya GES construction site 12 March. Here is an interview he gave to a special correspondent of Gosteleradio [USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting]:

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] To be honest, the question revolves arounud the fact that one cannot leave the people here in this situation—they cannot develop. Over a period of 10 years the poulation here grew by 7,000 people. There were 180,000 people, and now we have 187,000. This means that people are leaving here [as heard]. There is nothing to do. Here you are, the women are saying: We will do a bit of work for a month, but for the whole year, we do not know what to occupy ourselves with. It is necessary for branches to be built, so that sewing and some sort of weaving can be done here, but there is no electricity. This means that you cannot simply leave this area to its own devices, leave it just for tourists—you cannot do that, because people live here.

Secondly, an alternative is what is needed. Well, we have just returned from Kuzbass, and you have seen what is going on in Prokopyevsk. To this very day all that is vivid indeed for me, all that smog, all those fumes. So, a huge amount of money is needed there, huge indeed, in order to restore nature, as it were.

And if today we were to bring 1 million or 2 million [unit of measure not specified] here to this hollow, we would be unable to recognize this area in 10 years. What would it be like here?

So, that is why some sort of alternative is needed. I, for example, am of the opinion that bringing coal here would be simply folly, to say nothing of the economic aspect of this—for I am talking of the ecological aspects. Here it is altogether impermissible, it is tantamount to condemning this pearl to extinction, to ruining everything.

That is why, you see, one can speak, one can make somebody or other answerable, one can tell them that this isn't going to cut it, but this approach to hydroelectric power engineering cannot be allowed. This is the most ecologically pure form of power engineering. It was a folly of ours to have built stations on flatlands and yes, we did do that. Well, let us not do it any longer. But why is it that we do not build them in canyons? Why shouldn't such propitious conditions be put to use? After all, this is the most sensible approach. That is why I do not know, I mean some people did speak up, there are comrades who do speak up. There are no forests here, the flooding....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Nikolay Ivanovich, this campaign against...[changes thought] this green campaign, as it is now called, made it possible to verify things yet again, to carry out feasibility studies again, in order to arrive at a final conclusion.

[Ryzhkov] If there are doubts, one must verify things without fail. One must verify things 10 times and only then make a decision. But if we are confident that the decision is correct, it must be made. But to simply campaign against hydroelectric engineering is tantamount to making the whole of the country regress altogether. Well, look, as far as the atomic power stations are concerned, the public attitude is now against them; as far as the hydroelectric power stations are concerned, it is, likewise, against, and as for the heat and power plants, we have had an occasion in Kuzbas to convince ourselves by what they are like.

That is why I think that hydroelectric power stations are, nevertheless, ecologically purest. But decisions must be arrived at sensibly, this must be stressed. Well, it is nature that gave us such canyons—it must be utilized; we must not stick out for, say, some flatland station where we flood huge areas of fertile land, forests, and so forth. That is my view. That is why I think that the RSFSR ought to arrive at a final decision—for it is up to it so to do—and if there are no more specific skeletons in the closet in this respect, construction must, of course, go ahead. Furthermore, listen: You cannot keep people in this sort of situation for 10 years. [end recording]

Visits Altay Tractor Works

LD1303184389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent A. Tikhomirov in Altay Kray]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] Katun, Gorno-Altaysk, and Biysk were the sites of Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov's meetings yesterday. But this morning Nikolay Ivanovich visited the Altay Tractor Works in Rubtsovsk. The situation here is not quite straightforward but is, I would say, typical of many other enterprises in the country, whose fame once resounded even as their workshops grew slowly old, their equipment outdated, and their products obsolete. And, with the introduction of the state acceptance system and the transfer to financial autonomy, it has suddenly become clear that the enterprise is in a bad way, and fairly seriously so.

On the Vremya program tomorrow we will report what was discussed today and the way out of this situation that was sought, and it seems was found, by the enterprises' employees and the chairman of the Council of Ministers. [video shows bus, Ryzhkov and officials walking across shop floor, viewing tractors and the production process, and talking to workers]

Preparations for Upcoming CPSU Plenum Reported

LD1403120889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the rate of progress in preparations for the party Central Committee plenum on improving relations between nationalities. It was noted that the forthcoming Central Committee Plenum is arousing profound public interest, and that great hopes are being placed on it. Matters relating to the nationalities' policy are being discussed in party committees, at meetings of Communists, in labor collectives, in the mass media, among the scientific and creative intelligentsia, and in various amateur associations.

Many party and local soviet bodies in the provinces are working seriously to tackle acute issues that are of concern to working people, particularly in the social sphere, and in the spheres of national culture and language and ecology. A document has been prepared by the USSR Council of Ministers on the general principles for restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere of union republics on the basis of expanding their sovereign rights of self-management and self-financing. It has been approved by the CPSU Central Committee and submitted for nationwide discussion.

A USSR draft law on local self-management and the local economy is being prepared. On the basis of incoming proposals and an analysis of the national debate, a package of draft laws connected with regulating relations between the nationalities is being formulated. Alongside this, preparations for the plenum have still not been developed on the scale that is required by the situation that is taking shape, which has been brought about by restructuring processes getting under way and an underestimation of the acuteness of the problems that had accumulated in the sphere of relations between nationalities.

The CPSU Central Committee has recommended to party committees that they should reveal more broadly the whole diversity of the work being conducted in connection with the plenum, and strive to make working people understand that problems relating to the nationalities cannot be resolved at one stroke. Every step should be carefully considered: A system and consistency are required.

This report will be published in full in tomorrow's newspapers.

More on Preparations for Plenum

LD1403131889 Moscow TASS in English 1302 GMT 14 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 14 TASS—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has said that preparations for its forthcoming plenum on interethnic relations, slated for the middle of 1989, should be stepped up.

It said in a statement issued here on Tuesday [14 March] that the preparations "have not yet reached the scale required by the developing situation."

The Central Committee noted, however, increased attention to related issues of late. The government, for example, has drafted a document formulating the concept of regional cost-accounting, which was published in the press on Tuesday.

Work is underway on a package of bills on regulating interethnic relations. Party and local governing councils are doing much to remove many sharp issues concerning language, culture and ecological problems.

While taking note of this, the Central Committee pointed to attempts by individual extremist groups to pressure authorities into taking rash decisions.

It stressed in this connection that nationalities problems cannot be solved by one fell swoop and have to be dealt with in a plan-based and consistent manner and that every step must be carefully weighed.

The Central Committee thinks it essential to expedite the drafting of acts on upgrading interethnic relations and increase the involvement of union republics, autonomous republics and regions, and the public in this work.

Among other things, a conference will be held at the party Central Committee in the near future—with the participation of members of the Parliamentary Commission on Interethnic Relations—to discuss the basic provisions of the bills in the works as well as alternative proposals.

A package of other measures is planned to harmonise interethnic relations.

No Foreign Radioactive Waste Transits Baltics

LD1303154789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1145 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 March (TASS)—No radiocative waste or spent fuel from foreign nuclear power stations is transported or has ever been transported across the territory of the republics of the Soviet Baltic area, Boris Semenov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the use of Nuclear Power said in an interview with a TASS correspondent. He was commenting on a report which appeared in the fifth issue of 'ATMODA' ['PROBUZHDENIYE'], the bulletin of the Latvian People's Front.

What is actually being transported is natural and enriched uranium, Semenov said. Since 1973, the USSR has been offering Western countries, through contracts with firms, services in the processing and enrichment of uranium for their nuclear power engineering. In acccordance with the conditions of the contracts, foreign customers are supplying natural uranium to the USSR in two forms—uranium concentrate and uranium hexafluoride. These substances are processed in the USSR and returned to the customers in the form of enriched uranium hexafluoride. The ports of Riga and Leningrad are used as delivery points for these cargoes, and there they are transferred from ships to freight cars, and returned the same way. However, raw uranium in the form of uranium concentrate, that is processed natural ore, has a low level of radio activity and presents no radiation danger.

If one is talking about the hexafluoride of natural uranium, this is transported as a solid in thick-walled containers made from a special alloy, and delivered by foreign customers. The specially designed container has been endorsed by the competent bodies in the relevant countries, and meets all IAEA requirements. Over the last 15 years there has not been a single accident on the territory of the USSR involving containers holding hexafluoride of natural or enriched uranium.

As for radioactive waste, according to Semenov, the technology for its reliable processing and burial was developed long ago in the USSR. There are about 35 regional stations for burying such radioactive waste on the territory of the Soviet Union. There is one near Riga—the "Radon" test site." The waste from the operation of nuclear power stations is processed and buried at the stations themselves. In a word, storage of such waste is something which has been in use for a long time and is absolutely safe in respect of people's health and the environment.

A more serious problem is presented by the storage of spent nuclear fuel or the waste from its processing. It is this that nonspecialists have in mind when they speak of radioactive waste. There are no grounds for talking about burying such waste in Latvia, Semenov said.

The ATMODA, with reference to the Western press, states that this may happen when some form of contract is made with the FRG. Semenov stated that there is no contract providing for the supply of radioactive waste or spent foreign fuel from the FRG to the USSR.

Apology to Baybakov for 'Slander' in Estonian Case

PM1003094789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed article: "Returning to the Article"]

[Text] In the article "Hypocrites" on 5 January this year PRAVDA spoke out against the rehabilitation of I.A. Khint, an Estonian scientist who embarked on the path of major embezzlement, smuggling, and other crimes covered by 10 articles of criminal codes in four union republics.

Khint was sentenced by an Estonian court in the Estonian language. The court's verdict was appealed against at various judicial levels, including the USSR Supreme

Court. But the case was solid. Even an objection from the USSR general prosecutor (December 1988) concerning the reclassification of certain incidents as abuse of official position rather than embezzlement did not reduce Khint's guilt under any of the articles of the criminal code. Consequently the objection was withdrawn.

At the same time, the article also stated that N.K. Baybakov, former chairman of the USSR Gosplan, had received a gift from Khint—a waste-disposal unit. There are witnesses and other documents to this effect in the Khint case. But there was actually no convincing confirmation of this fact. So it could have been slander or a misunderstanding. Unfortunately, the author of the article did not take this into account, relying wholly on the proceedings of the Khint trial. The editorial bureau offers N.K. Baybakov its apologies.

Lithuanian Official Interviewed on Trade Practices

LD1003143089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
2 Feb 89 p 4

[Telephone interview with Ignas Butavicius, deputy chief Trade and Consumer Services Section, Lithuanian Council of Ministers, by Jurgis Paskocinas, entitled "Trade, Regulated by 'Visitor Cards' Being Abolished," under the rubric "Hello! TIESA Calling"; date not given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **TIESA Editorial Office receives many letters from various cities and rayons throughout Lithuania. People express their concern about trade restrictions. So-called 'visitor cards,' which allow purchases of certain goods to residents of local cities or rayons, or purchases based on passports, also raise many problems.**

I called Ignas Butavicius, deputy chief of the Section For Trade and Municipal Services, Lithuanian Council of Ministers.

[Butavicius] The Council of Ministers has also received letters with complaints on trade restrictions. Having taken these into consideration, we have prepared an appropriate administrative document. City and rayon executive committees, the Ministry of Trade, and the Lithuanian Trade Union Association have been asked to ensure that goods in particular demand would be sold in accordance with recommendations governing the sale of commodities in short supply; all other restrictions are to be abolished. This means, Ignas Butavicius explained, that everything on display in the trade establishment is sold without any demands for visitor cards or passports.

[Paskocinas] When, for instance, will residents of Radviliskis, be able to shop in Siauliai or Panevezys?

[Butavicius] I think the unnecessary restrictions should be cancelled by the beginning of February, since we sent out the appropriate directives on 31 Jan.

Some trade restrictions remain. I do not have to explain why, since we are unable, by far, to find everything we need in the stores. For instance, there remain restrictions on sending packages by rail and air. City and rayon executive committees are advised to limit the availability of certain goods in particular demand, to some stores only.

Two methods for sale of industrial goods are projected: using coupons that will be allotted to labor collectives by special executive committee commissions—and with joint order participation in stores by another commission, made up of the trade organization under whose jurisdiction the store is—and worker control representatives. Local soviet executive committees are to decide where and in what form goods are to be exchanged and they are to inform the residents.

Problems of Poverty, Sanitation Addressed

LD1003142089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian
2 Feb 89 p 1

[Readers' letters by A. Kastrickiene, J. Gasiunas: "There Should Be No Paupers," and by V. Staniulis: "While Purification Equipment Is Rusting"]

[Text]

There Should Be No Paupers.

We have lived up to the current time of restructuring as if totally unaware that many of the people living beside us are, to put it delicately, living in poverty. How could it be otherwise, if one receives R30 per month in assistance, or R50 per month in pension funds. There are thousands of such people.

Many nice ideas have come into existence, and various funds have been started. Some individuals have already proposed starting a fund for the needy. We think, however, it is not appropriate to extend an alm-seeking hand to the public in this sad matter. We have state institutions, which must concern themselves with how people are managing to live, especially since they are the ones controlling the fruits of the welfare and pension recipients' labor.

There are 150 individuals in our city receiving R30 per month, 1800 individuals receiving the R40 kolkhoz pension, and 3000 people receiving the minimal R50 pension. Having realized it is impossible to live on such an amount, and believing city government is administered by the soviet council of deputies, we propose that the executive committee adopt a resolution that would require enterprises and plants to earmark a certain amount of funds—from their social development or other funds—into an open account, making it possible to raise the assistance and minimal pension payments to R70.
[Signed] A. Kastrickiene and J. Gasiunas from Panevezys

While Purification Equipment Is Rusting

Prienai water purification equipment is capable of handling approximately 500 cubic meters of contaminated water (that is the projected capacity of such vintage mechanical equipent); currently, however, nearly 3,200 cubic meters of water pass through this facility during the course of 24 hours, amounting to nearly 6 times that much! This means that consumer and other waste water pours into the Nemunas River almost totally untreated.

Naturally, the rayon administration has been aware of the critical situation. Appeals were made to the Municipal Services Ministry and the State Plan and Nature Protection Committees. Plans are projected for connecting the Prienai City sewerage network to Birstonas treatment facilities...in 1993. That means, in 4 or 5 years...Is that a way out? Consider fulfillment of the apartment program, whereby 100 apartments are to be built in Prienai every year. Consequently sewerage will increase, and if it increases—houses can not be constructed....

I think Prienai sewerage must be connected to the Birstonas treatment facility without delay. This equipment is currently being used to only 50 percent of its capacity, while the idle part of the equipment is rusting away. What purpose would extending the pipeline serve? Having drained the wet soil found in the rayon, local land reclamators are looking for work elsewhere. In other words, we have the labor capacity available. When the pipeline is extended from Prienai to Birstonas 5 years from now, will the Birstonas treatment facility not be in need of repair?

I hear the argument: Kaunas needs treatment facilities, why are you bothering us with your Prienai? Of course, Kaunas needs them also, however, unless we clean up the waste in Prienai, will the Nemunas remain clean near Kaunas?
[Signed] V. Staniulis, deputy, Prienai City Soviet

Belorussian Government To Publicize Its Work

PM0703150589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent M. Shimanskiy report under the rubric "In Republic Governments": "Informing the Population About Everything"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers has adopted measures to further extend glasnost in mass media coverage of the republic government's activity. IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked M. Kovalev, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, to comment on this decision.

"We analyzed the results of a recent meeting of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Commission on Eliminating the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES with mass media workers and representatives of the public," Mikhail Vasilyevich said. "It discussed measures to ensure radiation safety for the population living in regions with radioactive pollution. The discussion was pointed, principled, and, to many people, impartial. This meeting once again convinced everyone how necessary glasnost is in the activities of organs of state power and management, and not just at times of emergency situations but in their everyday work.

"However, the present level of such information does not meet the increased demands. People frequently do not know what the republic council of ministers and its apparatus do. For republic newspapers, television, and radio basically set forth only briefly the issues examined at government sessions. Therefore many important resolutions remain 'closed' to broad sections of the population. Some of our decisions reach the mass media in an abridged version, and frequently even in a distorted form. Hence various kinds of rumors arise, incorrect public opinion is formed....

"The chief cause is lack of operational efficiency," Mikhail Vasilyevich continued. "Clearly, this deficiency must be eliminated more quickly.

"Above all, meetings between Belorussian Council of Ministers Presidium members and department chiefs and representatives of the mass media are being put into practice. A press center is to be created on the basis of Minsk Political Education Center before next July. There at least twice a month republic organs will be able to inform people, as well as journalists, about the progress of restructuring and the fulfillment of the program of Belorussia's socioeconomic and cultural development. News conferences, 'roundtables,' and all sorts of meetings will also be held.

"An information department is being set up at the republic council of ministers. Its duties include ensuring constant liaison between the Belorussian SSR Government and its apparatus and the mass media and correspondents of central publications. It will widely inform the republic's population about the activity of the Belorussian SSR Government and study and take account of public opinion when preparing important state questions.

"The publication of draft resolutions of the republic government in the periodical press is being put into practice by the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs and departments.

"We deemed it expedient to determine the working people responsible for liaison with the mass media in the republic's ministries and departments and in oblispolkoms, gorispolkoms, and rayispolkoms. Local soviet organs are recommended to draw up a system of informing the population about their work. Other measures have also been outlined in this sphere."

Ukrainian Priest Sentenced for Conducting Service

LD1303213189 Vatican City International Service in Ukrainian 1830 GMT 10 Mar 89

[Text] A Ukrainian Catholic priest has been sentenced to 6 months of military service for participation in a public divine service:

The Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in the Ukraine and members of the Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Ukraine, give notice that Mykhaylo Voloshyn, a priest of the Order of the Redemptorist Fathers, was sentenced to 6 months of military service on 5 March for his participation in conducting a requiem service [panakhyda] on Sunday 26 February this year.

Father Voloshyn conducted the panakhyda in the area in front of the Church of the Assumption of the Mother of God in Lvov together with an Orthodox priest, father Nyskohus, in order to mark the 175th anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko. There were more than 25,000 people present at the divine service. It is not yet known where Father Voloshyn will be serving his assignment. The Soviet authorities often use compulsory military service in order to punish Ukrainian Catholic priests. For example, Father Mykhaylo Havryliv was assigned for compulsory military service to Chernobyl, where he cleaned nuclear waste products, immediately after the publication in the West of the book "History of a Ukrainian Catholic Priest in the Ukraine."

Scholar Discusses Ukrainian National Symbols

AU0703144889 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 26 Feb 89 p 3

[Candidate of Historical Sciences V. Tkachenko article: "National Symbols—the Past and the Present"]

[Excerpts] Under the conditions of restructuring, a great deal is being done to strengthen the national consciousness, the national dignity of the republic's working people. We have developed an interest in our past, in the people's history. How can one not be interested in symbols? Here and there, proposals have been made to review our attitude toward the very same trident and the yellow-and-blue flag [Ukrainian national emblem and colors]. However, some of the authors of these proposals do not even know where these symbols come from, or what they signify. Therefore, let us have a look at the issue. For this purpose, however, it is necessary, with the reader's permission, to go far back into past centuries.

The investigations made by many scientists have shown that symbols, strictly speaking, took shape with the emergence of stable ethnic groups. Their prototypes were, of course, tribal totemic signs.

So, in our country's history, the Rurik dynasty used as its symbol a trident, examples of which—found in the Great Novgorod decorations, on Kiev construction slabs, and on coins minted by Prince Vladimir the Great (980-1015)—can be regarded as the most ancient ones. [passage omitted]

The attempt made by the Ukrainian bourgeoisie early in the 20th century to participate in the political struggle—a belated attempt, because at that time the proletariat had already been taking vanguard positions in the revolutionary changes taking place in Russia—brought about a new attempt to revive the ancient symbols, to drape bourgeois ideals on ancient artistic forms borrowed from the heroic historical past. In January 1918, the Central Council of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) proposed to the people a symbolic sign in the shape of a trident drawn by painter V. Krychevskyy. The trident also suited the esthetic taste of Hetman P. Skoropadskyy, who confirmed it as the state emblem. As the symbol of the politically defeated, the trident has been definitely discredited by the fact that it was used on the tabs of Banderaite gangsters. The same sad fate was shared by the yellow-and-blue banner. In the circle of UNR ideologists, the order of colors on this banner was disputed until 1920. These discussions were actually senseless, because at that time the banner of the proletarian revolution had actually been flying high over the Land of the Soviets.

Under the concrete conditions of the Civil War, when the nation was split into two opposing camps, it would have been wrong to regard the trident and the yellow-and-blue banner as a requisite of an ethnic culture. As symbols of the old ideology, they have sunk in the past along with their epoch. Any attempts to revive them in the present times would only suit people who would like to revive confrontation and the psychological conditions of civil war. [passage omitted]

On the flag of the Ukrainian SSR, approved on 21 November 1949 by a decree of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, there is a stripe in the traditional [in the Ukraine] blue.

Moldavian Party Plenum Approves Personnel Changes

PM0703123989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held 22 February.

Party gorkom and raykom first secretaries and ministry and department leaders who are not members of elected organs of the republic Communist Party were invited to the plenum.

The plenum examined the question of the composition of Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee commissions.

Information on this question was provided by V.K. Pshenichnikov, second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. (The speech is being published).

Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee members V.K. Chumachenko, M.I. Karpova, I.K. Serbin, and I.P. Paliy and Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee candidate member A.L. Budyanu spoke in the debate.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question under discussion. (The resolution is being published).

The plenum examined organizational questions.

V.A. Kazyulin was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department.

S.D. Roshka was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department.

M.I. Marchenko was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Agrarian Department.

K.A. Tampiza was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Socioeconomic Department.

L.A. Bolgarin was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee State Law Department.

M.I. Shatokhina was confirmed as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee General Department.

G.I. Kushnir was confirmed as Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee admninistrator of affairs.

The plenum released I.I. Lyubashin from his duties as chief of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee General Department in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum released V.B. Leshchinskiy from his duties as Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee administrator of affairs in connection with his reassignment.

The plenum confirmed B.M. Stratulat as chief editor of the journal KOMUNISTUL MOLDOVEY (Communist of Moldavia), releasing V.D. Danilenko from these duties in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum confirmed V.L. Spiney as editor of the newspaper VYATSA SATULUY, releasing V.N. Petrash from these duties in connection with his retirement on pension.

The plenum thanked I.I. Lyubashin, V.D. Danilenko, and V.N. Petrash for many years of fruitful activity in the republic's party organs and the press.

The plenum examined the question of the removal of V.I. Smirnov, former second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, from membership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a report. (The report is being published).

Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee members I.K. Urzika, D.G. Zidu, A.V. Melnik, M.I. Tuzlov, V.D. Danilenko, I.I. Cheban, G.I. Yeremey, and M.F. Dyeur and Moldavian Communist Party Auditing Commission member M.F. Lupashku then spoke.

The plenum removed V.I. Smirnov, former second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, from membership of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee for compromising himself during his tenure as chief of the CPSU Central Committee Central Asian Republics Sector and allowing distortions in cadre policy. The plenum resolutely condemned V.I. Smirnov's unlawful actions and also his unseemly work style, which damaged the authority of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic party organization.

With this the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum completed its work.

Landslides Damage Georgian Railroads, Crops

LD1003233389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Mar 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] There have been major landslides in a number of districts of Georgia. Correspondent N. Gongadze reports:

Due to the unusual landscape, the mainline railroad is directly adjacent to rivers and mountain ranges in a number of districts of Georgia. Consequently, the elements often deal their first blow precisely there. [video shows demolished buildings, and railroad tracks under mud and water] About 100 cubic meters of mud swept down onto the rails of the main transportation artery in Zestafoni rayon, not far from the village of (Boslevo) as a result of a landslide. Mighty flows broke into a railroad tunnel, sweeping away everything in their path. Over 100 houses were caught in the disaster zone: Some of them have been totally destroyed. In Ordzhonikidze rayon, the buildings of a secondary school, a weaving mill, and a canning works were damaged; 860 families lost their homes. The victims have now been accommodated in hostels, and are receiving medical assistance. Vines and other agricultural crops have been flattened on hundreds of hectares of land.

Just now, many landslides are taking place in the Terzhola and Ambrolauri rayons of Georgia. The elements have caused major damage to dairy farms and livestock complexes. Rayon headquarters have been set up in the localities to eliminate the consequences of the disaster. Comrade Patiashvili, first secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, has visited the disaster zone. [video shows damaged buildings and vineyards. A bulldozer is shown clearing away rocks]

Armenian Council, Gosstroy Chairman Replaced

PM0903154589 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
28 Feb 89 p 2

[Decree from the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium "On Appointing Comrade G.A. Oganesyan Deputy Chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Armenian SSR State Construction Committee and Relieving Comrade V.B. Artsruni of This Post"]

[Text] Yerevan, 28 February—The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To appoint Comrade Grayr Avetisovich Oganesyan deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Armenian SSR State Construction Committee.

2. To relieve Comrade Varteks Baratovich Artsruni of the post of deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Armenian SSR State Construction Committee in connection with his transfer to other work.

[Signed] G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;
N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Yerevan Updates Armenian Quake Relief 11 Mar

NC1203105789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian
1700 GMT 11 March 89

[Text] The press information center of the USSR Council of Ministers has informed our reporter that, out of 96,746 specific (?enterprises) found in the republic's 20 cities and rayons damaged by the earthquake, 88,650 have been surveyed by the Armenian Finance Ministry officials and have been paid R422.319 million in compensations.

The victims have received R305.416 million for the damaged buildings alone. At today's figures, the republic has received R1.356 billion in financial aid from different organizations and [word indistinct] of the country. Out of this money the republic has already spent R36 million. Foreign currency totalling R19.912 million has been deposited at the Soviet foreign trade bank. According to the latest figures of the republic's Finance Ministry, R917.952 million has been paid to the victims as a one-time benefit and compensation for lost property.

The removal of debris from the damaged cities is continuing. A total of 1.319 million cubic meters of rubble have been removed from Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak. Scrap metal totaling 15,822 tonnes and more than 20,000 cubic meters of tufa stone have been sorted out of the debris.

Quake Commission Demands Sanitation Improvements

PM1303134989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission": "Spring—Time for Serious Work"]

[Text] Spring has made changes to life in the quake-damaged rayons of Armenia. In addition to the specific construction program defined for March, other questions are also having to be resolved locally. These include the sanitation situation in the disaster zone and the preparations for field work on the farms that suffered. The topicality and seriousness of their effect on the entire course of reconstruction work were examined at a regular session of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission in Yerevan 11 March. The session was chaired by I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The commission drew the attention of health care, Gosagroprom, and housing, municipal, and consumer services chiefs in the republic to their slow and uncoordinated action on implementing a package of measures aimed at creating the necessary conditions for people's daily life, protecting their health, and maintaining a favorable sanitary-epidemiological situation. It was proposed to impose more rigorous sanitary supervision requirements in temporary housing camps and at trade establishments and public catering points.

The commission demanded medical, sanitary, and veterinary screening of every population center, the deployment of an additional network of mobile bathhouses and washhouses, and decontamination of animal burial sites used during the winter as quickly as possible. Assessing the progress of preparations for spring field work, the commission viewed as unsatisfactory the pace of equipment repairs and irrigation network reconstruction and the quality of the seed stocks. Amasiyskiy, Gukasyanskiy, and Talinskiy rayons are lagging behind in this regard. The Armenian Gosagroprom is to blame for delays in the delivery of seed potatoes from Belorussia.

The leaders of union ministries and departments present at the commission session were given assignments with regard to unresolved questions. [A report on] progress in fulfilling the decisions adopted by the commission earlier was heard.

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the commission's work.

Agreement Between Armenian, NKAO Architects Signed

NC1303115389 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 12 Mar 89

["Items From Newspaper Pages" Program]

[Text] According to SOVETAKAN AYASTAN paper, a cooperation agreement was signed in Yerevan between the construction and architectural affairs department of the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast on the one hand, and the Armenian Architects Union and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' main administration for the protection and maintenance of historical and cultural monuments on the other.

It is envisaged to work jointly for the realization of the party decisions and the government concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, to provide the necessary contribution and help to revitalize and enhance the maintenance work of the (?former) architectural monuments. Young local architects will be trained in Yerevan to work in the oblast. A branch of the USSR Architects Union, a creative workshop, and a design bureau wil be opened in Stepanakert. During the expanded meeting of the administrative committee of the Armenian Architects Union, where the cooperation document was drafted, it was [word indistinct] at rendering the artistic [words indistinct] more practical. The necessity of maintaining and enhancing permanent relations was underlined. A commission was set up to coordinate the work to be accomplished within the framework of the cooperation agreement.

Factory Incorporated into Yerevan Enterprise

NC0903104489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 7 March (ARMENPRES)—The special ARMENPRES correspondent has commenced his official operations in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Below we publish the first dispatch of Aleksandr Grigoryan, our special correspondent from Stepanakert.

By a decision of the USSR Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and with the consent of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, the NKAO's "NKAO 60th Anniversary" electro-technical factory at Stepanakert has been incorporated into the "Luys" production enterprise.

A new page has been opened in the cooperation between Artsakh (Armenian name for Karabakh] electrical equipment producers and their colleagues in Armenia—who already were engaged in friendly productive collaboration—as a result of an indepth assessment of the problems that cropped up during the initial stages of the cooperation. Directors and specialists from the enterprise visited the factory. The visitors surveyed the technical capacity and financial situation of the factory and it became apparent that much needed to be done.

Karen Petrosyan, the deputy director of the factory, told the ARMENPRES correspondent: We immediately started tackling the accumulated problems. Our compatriots will participate in the technical revamp of the factory; they will help in the diversification of production. Thus, we will receive crystal glass from Armenia for reprocessing and for the manufacture of crystal chandeliers. This will enable us to increase production and solve the employment problem of the resettled people. With the assistance of our colleagues from the "Luys" enterprise we will establish and put into operation a branch of our factory at Karmin-Shuka village in the Martuninskiy rayon of the NKAO. The enterprise will also assist in the expansion of the factory's production units in Hadruyt town and in Karintak village in the Shushi rayon.

For their part, the NKAO experts will not remain mere onlookers. They will substantially increase the output of high-equality plastic [word indistinct] which is in short supply at the enterprise.

The collective of the Stepanakert electrical equipment factory welcomed the news of the integration of the factory into the "Luys" enterprise and is determined not to let its compatriots down. The electro-technicians of Artsakh work hard. The factory's products such as lighting [word indistinct], lamps, household appliances, and medical instruments are sent to hundreds of cities in the Soviet Union and are exported to a dozen foreign countries.

Independent NKAO Journalists Organization Formed

LD1003103589 Yerevan GRAKAN TERT in Armenian 24 Feb 89 p 1

[Stepanakert correspondent report]

[Excerpts] The USSR Union of Journalists has passed a resolution to create an independent journalistic organization in the Nogorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast (NKAO) which will have the right to admit new members to the union and all the privileges of similar unions. A constituent conference of the journalistic organization of the oblast has been held. M. Hovhannisyan, editor of "LERNAYIN KARABAKH", organ of the NKAO special Administration Committee, read a report at the conference entitled "Journalists as Active Participants of Restructuring." The following participated in the debate on the report: G. Soghomonyan, chairman of the oblast committee for radio and television broadcasts; G. Danielyan, editor of the Asgeran rayon paper "KARMIR DROSH"; S. Mosunts, editor of the Martakert rayon paper "BEKLARYAN"; E. Mkrtchyan, staff member of the oblast radio broadcasts committee; and Y. Sargsyan, editor of "METAKSAGORDZ". Zoriy Balayan, writer and journalist and member of the board of the USSR Journalists Union, participated in the conference and read a report. [passage omitted]

The conference elected a presidium of the oblast journalistic organization. M. Hovhannisyan, editor of "SOVETAKAN KARABAKH", was elected chairman of the oblast journalistic organization, and A. Balayan was elected secretary. An auditing commission and a professional ethics and rights council were also elected. P. Akalmov, manager of the organizational and instructional department of the USSR Journalists Union, and instructor N. Kolyavchenko of the same department, participated in the work of the constituent conference.

V.A. Sidirov, member of the NKAO Special Administration Committee, summed up the results of the work of the conference.

Azerbaijani Leaders Take Part in 'Management Game'

*PM1303165589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6*

[TASS dispatch: "Game With No Losers"]

[Text] Baku, 11 Mar—Many idelogical workers in Azerbaijan began the day today with a management game. Participants included party gorkom and raykom secretaries, leaders of republic ministries, departments, creative unions, and mass media, as well as scientists. Their aim was to elaborate an outline plan for the party organization's ideological work over the next 5 years.

This original high-level meeting, in which A.Kh. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, took part, was very lively. Participants identified weak spots in the republic's life and work. They conducted a collective scientific quest for optimum solutions to specific situations involving the smallest possible losses.

Kirovabad Situation Reported; Curfew End Predicted

*PM1303145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA
in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Colonel N. Mulyar: "Spring of Hope; Our Correspondent Reports from Azerbaijan"]

[Text] A friend from Moscow asked on the telephone: "How are things in Azerbaijan?" I would not have been able to answer quite a short time ago; the situation in the republic changed every day. Now it can be said that on the whole it has stabilized; nationalist passions whose outburst led to casualties, including among servicemen, have subsided. Industrial enterprises are working. Spring field work is under way. Active preparation for the election of USSR people's deputies is under way.

However, although there are few breaches of public order, isolated negative features still crop up. In February, for example, administrative proceedings were instituted against Kh. Khalilov, chief power worker at the Karadag construction materials combine, for stirring up interethnic strife. A. Aliyev, chief of the No 9 boathouse in Baku, was detained for creating an atmosphere of intolerance in the working collective as regards persons of different nationality.

Of course, the present situation in the republic is not determined by these facts. Nor can one overlook them, however. They force one to reflect on the extent to which internationalist education, and the struggle against manifestations of national self-importance and arrogance, were neglected here. The workers themselves talk about this.

"Over the centuries we have lived with Armenians in friendship and harmony," said A. Kuliyev, a pensioner with whom we talked in a street in Lenkoran, the rayon center in the very south of Azerbaijan. "It think it is crazy to hear some people justifying the Sumgait slaughter and outbursts of violence. It is time to put an end to the actions by extremist elements who are stirring up interethnic strife. However hard they try, they will not be able to separate our two peoples. People have realized to what this can lead."

The workers of the border village of Suparibag near Astara, with whom I happened to talk, think likewise. During the extremist outburst they did not give in to the provocation, and they did not allow themselves to be drawn into the whirlpool of false passions. Life here followed its normal course; order was not breached. And there are many people like them.

In the Kirovabad party gorkom it was proposed that I visit a plant which is noted for the fact that many Armenians work there. Senior Lieutenant of the Reserve S. Mageramov, the enterprise director, said:

"The plant did not stop work for a single day. Even when there were casualties in the city, our Armenians and Azerbaijanis worked hand in hand. I shall add that during those troubled times they banded together even more. It is true that some people gave in to panic, left the enterprise, and left for Armenia, and Krasnodar Kray. Now we have found out their addresses and we are sending letters inviting them to return to the plant. And many are already returning. Today, for example, E. Badalova, M. Gyulemyan, and E. Episkoposyan started work. People are working conscientiously, particularly such veterans as S. Polyan, Yu. Azaryan, and others.

Afterwards we went around the shops with G. Zulgadarovyy, secretary of the party committee, and chatted with the workers. This is what they think:

V. Badalyan: My wife and two sons work at the plant with me. The attitude displayed toward us is fine. But sometimes we get alarmed. Particularly when you travel on the city transportation or you go to the bazaar and you hear an insult from some young fellow. It is unpleasant. And then you feel like leaving. It wasn't like that before. All of us lived here in peace and harmony, and no one asked you your nationality. The events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Sumgait changed everything dramatically. Extremists and underground millionaires are playing on them. It is time to put an end to this.

M. Danilyan: I have been working at the plant for 20 years. I never once heard a word of reproach or insult from Azerbaijanis working by me. We lived like one big family. When the earthquake occurred in Armenia, the collective gathered 15 warm yurts worth R100,000 and sent them to the disaster area. I want just one thing—that peace and calm should return to this land.

The problem of the refugees' return, of course, is not simple. Sevil Ispandiyarovna Guseynova, second secretary of the Kirovabad party gorkom, said that, for example, many refugees from Armenia's Vardenisskiy Rayon declared their desire to return to the home of their forebears. Party workers went there, met with the rayon leaders, and studied conditions for their return. It turned out that many homes belonging to the Azerbaijanis are occupied by Armenians who left Azerbaijan. In order that they may be vacated, reciprocal coordinated actions are needed.

"You know what the position is in the city," Sevil Ispandiyarovna continued. "All the enterprises are working. The firebrands' actions are being investigated. A great deal of work is being carried out among the population. You won't see any party workers in their offices now. They are all at enterprises, among the people. Workers' requests, complaints, and wishes are being closely studied; essential measures are being taken promptly. All this is having an effect on the population's mood, on the city's working rhythm. But, of course, a great deal of work still lies ahead. Time will be needed to heal the wounds, and to put an end once and for all to the forces sowing national strife.

Colonel S. Korobko, commandant of the Kirovabad Special District, told us about the normalization of the situation. Now the number of patrol posts has been reduced. Only four posts at the approaches to the city are on duty round the clock. The volunteer people's militia is on duty in the streets instead of military patrols. The time is not far off when the curfew will also be abolished.

...At the end of March there will be one of the most revered festivals in Azerbaijan—Novruz-Bayram. On that day people share with their neighbors all the bounty of their table. Looking at the wheat shoots which are showing green, they make their cherished wishes. In the yards they burn fires containing the garbage which has accumulated over the winter. May all the scum generated by nationalist passions be consumed in these fires, may there be peace and harmony, friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance among the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples—today these are the cherished desires of those I happened to meet on the republic's roads.

New Turkmen SSR Justice Minister Appointed

PM0903154389 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree "On Appointing Comrade Kh. Atayev Turkmen SSR Minister of Justice"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 28 Feb—The Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has resolved to appoint Comrade Khalykberdy Atayev Turkmen SSR minister of justice.

Signed: R. Bazarova, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and M. Orazov, secretary of the Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Uzbek Meeting on Drop in Aral Sea Water Level

NC0803114489 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1300 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] The Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet held an extraordinary meeting in Tashkent today to examine matters concerning the problem of the Aral Sea. It is common knowledge that the water level of the Aral Sea recently dropped significantly, creating a number of problems.

Tashkent Officials Receive New Posts

LD0903150589 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 2

[Excerpts] Tashkent, 10 February. (UzTAG)—There was a session of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies today. [passage omitted] In connection with the appointment of P.M. Abdurakhmanov as deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, he was released from his duties as chairman of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. A.A. Yuldashev was elected chairman of the Tashkent Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies. [passage omitted]

Personnel Changes in Kazakhstan Communist Party

LD1303103189 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 11 Mar 89

[Excerpts] An information report on the plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. The 14th plenum of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee was held today. It examined the organizational work of the republican party organization in implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. A report of the Central Committee Bureau on this matter was delivered by Mendybayev, second secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. [passage omitted]

At the plenum, the concluding address was delivered by Kolbin, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. The plenum adopted a resolution on the matter under discussion, which will be published in the press.

The plenum confirmed a clause on commissions of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee and their composition. The plenum examined organizational matters. The plenum removed Grebenyuk, Yerpilov, Zhadanov, Korkin, Morozov, Pingarev, and Stepanov from the membership of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee in connection with their retirement on pension, work transfer, leaving the republic, and personal request. The plenum dismissed Iskakov from membership and (Kalmagambetov) from the candidate membership of the Central Committee of Kazakhstan Central Committee for serious shortcomings in their previous work. The plenum released Kamalidenov from his duties as member of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee on health grounds and at his personal request.

The plenum elected Sagdiyev and Tolebekov as members of the Bureau of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee. The plenum transferred Miroshnik from candidate member to member of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau. The plenum introduced Abdullayev to the Central Committee and elected him as member of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Bureau. The plenum transferred Aytmukhambetov, Baygeldiyev, Yesmukhanov, Yefimov, (Platkov), Korotenko, Shardarbekov from candidate members to members of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee.

Taking part in the plenum work were (Prisunov) deputy head of the Party Construction and Cadre Work Department of the CPSU Central Committee; (Navazhuv), an official of the CPSU Central Committee.

Critique of Leningrad Journal Article on CPSU Role

PM1303105189 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 pp 2-3

[Article by Prof M. Krotov, doctor of economic sciences, and reader A. Losik, candidate of historical sciences, under the rubric "Stance": "Alternative... But Why?"]

[Text] The political club "Alternativa" made itself known in this year's first issue of the journal NEVA with an article by S. Andreyev entitled "The Structure of Power and Society's Tasks." The attempt to present a policy stance reflecting the mood of certain sections of society on the pages of the Leningrad literary and arts journal is interesting. The very fact that the article was published can be viewed as the implementation of the 19th party conference provision that USSR citizens have the right to freely express their views on any socially significant issue. The focus of critical analysis on the transformations which are taking place in the course of restructuring, and the difficulties which beset them, also attracts the attention. Such negative phenomena as the deterioration in supplies to the population, unjustified price rises, destruction of the environment, and the bureaucracy which continues to cling to its positions are causing alarm and demanding that concrete action be taken.

Practice has confirmed the correctness of the CPSU's course toward restructuring but has, at the same time, also revealed how very difficult it is to overcome deformations and how deep the stagnation processes in society are. Therefore what is needed today more than ever before is constructive criticism of the history of restructuring itself with a view to the rapid solution of the problems which arise in the course of the transition from the administrative-edict methods of management to economic methods of management, from formal democracy to genuine people's power.

At the same time another approach has emerged. Coming up against objective difficulties and obstacles in the path of renewal, which make it impossible to rapidly overcome the inertia of stagnation and swiftly reach our goals, individual sections of the population have succumbed to confusion, have panicked. Their impatience to see changes implemented, their unjustified expectations of easy success, led to an abrupt change in their mood from triumphant to defeatist. The article which appeared in the NEVA journal—which, on the basis of a one-sided negative assessment of the translation of the people's plans into practical deeds claims that the economic reform has failed, that the CPSU lacks an effective program of struggle against the bureaucracy, and even admits the possibility of the establishment of a military dictatorship in the country—is, in our view, an expression of such tendencies.

Such moods can have a demoralizing impact and undermine the main gain of restructuring—people's faith in renewal, which would be of advantage only to overtly conservative forces. Even the author's propositions as such, which revive in a new form the notorious theory of the exacerbation of the class struggle, drive a wedge into society and counter the currently so badly needed consolidation of all social forces on the basis of practical actions to renew and consolidate socialism.

In entering into the polemic let us emphasize that S. Andreyev's article contains a whole series of correct, incontrovertible propositions taken from party documents with which the public is familiar. S. Andreyev's article also contains controversial ideas which nonetheless point social scientists toward a quest for new theoretical approaches and an analysis of the progress of restructuring.

However, the general thrust of the article, its assessments, and the alternatives which it proposes are, in our view, destructive and cannot be regarded as acceptable either in theoretical or practical terms. Leaving to the author's conscience many of the scathing remarks on the lines of "the sheepish submissiveness of the people" and "castrated understanding of our own history," which are not at all applicable to restructuring, we would like to express our stance only on key points of S. Andreyev's "program." Especially as the rapid evolution of the author's views from regarding the party as the guarantor of the struggle against bureaucracy (URAL No 1, 1988) to overt disillusionment with the decisions of the 19th Party Conference (NEVA No 1, 1989) reflects the emergence, at the sight of the first difficulties, of a mood of depression among certain sections of society. M.S. Gorbachev has drawn attention to the need to overcome this mood: "...Entering a most complex stage of restructuring where many new problems lie in store for us, let us not panic, let us not lose our nerve. It is possible that we will have to retreat here and there if it turns out that we have made a mistake. The tasks we are tackling are not simple, so let us not be afraid of mistakes. Let us proceed firmly along the road that has been mapped out." (PRAVDA 13 January 1988).

What is puzzling above all is the categorical assertion that the crisis in the economic and production sphere in current conditions is deepening—which, according to S. Andreyev's opinion, is due to the absence of a fundamental theory of economic development. It cannot be denied that formally the author's statement is logical. It is absolutely true that if such a theory does not exist then all the documents relating to radical economic reform, including the Law on the State Enterprise, are scientifically unfounded, and consequently the reform itself is doomed to failure. But do things really look so gloomy in practice? We think not. The theoretical substantiation of the new economic mechanism was arrived at literally through decades of hard work by Soviet economic science. It is a misfortune for society as a whole, rather than the fault of economic science, that its ideas were not implemented in practice for so long. It was no accident that the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum, endorsing the provisions of the radical reform, proceeded from the ideas of Academician V.S. Nemchinov put forward back in 1964. Any science should be judged by its best representatives rather than apologists and opportunists, who exist in nuclear physics just as in biology, geology, or literary criticism, and which is what S. Andreyev tends to do.

After April 1985, when social scientists first received a direct social order to carry out a truthful analysis of the economy, the healthy forces among the scientists elaborated proposals for a truly radical renewal of our economy. "The measures envisaged by the reform," Academician L.I. Abalkin claims, "are wholly justifiable, in my view. Any sensible person in any part of the civilized world would have acted in this way. There is no alternative." (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 8 February 1989). How did the author of the NEVA article, who favors an alternative, arrive at the conclusion that complete confusion reigns in economists' minds? Clearly, not being an economic specialist, he interprets as confusion the pluralism of opinions which is natural in any science, the lively discussions about the most effective ways of implementing the economic reform, and the liberation of social scientists from uniform thought and excessive politicization. Every person, of course, has the right to propagandize his own viewpoint, but when the superficial approach of dilettantes begins to prevail on the pages of mass circulation publications and when cutting remarks are valued more than profound scientific ideas, then this can only evoke concern.

Our country had to pay a high price for ignoring the opinion of professionals, including social scientists, during the years of stagnation. But perhaps S. Andreyev is right when he believes that professional social scientists today are worried, that they are afraid to say something new, something that they themselves have come up with? There will be such cases, no doubt. But the main reasons why the voice of professionals is not heard very much are different. The practical implementation of the reform has set economic theoreticians specific tasks which are no less complex, and possibly more complex, than the tasks faced during the elaboration of the concept of the new economic mechanism.

The solution of these tasks is being complicated by the continued information famine, and the fact that the lion's share of the allocation of state funds for research goes to social scientists working in the capital. This objectively hampers the scientific backup of restructuring processes at local level and makes it impossible to fully exploit the potential of VUZ scientists in particular in many parts of the country. And finally, the professionals' voice is not heard very much also because the pages of many mass-circulation sociopolitical and literary and arts publications are monopolized essentially by one and the same group of authors. As a result they are beginning to repeat themselves. Their ideas, which were new and constructive yesterday, have today become a means of self-advertisement through being constantly reproduced on a mass scale, and the public gains the impression that social science is marking time. Therefore it is necessary to check monopolist tendencies in social science and to create conditions for healthy competition between temporary scientific collectives at local level and central institutions, and to involve new young forces of professionals from all over the country in assessing socioeconomic processes.

The first stipulation of a professional assessment of essentially contradictory social phenomena is an objective approach and a comprehensive examination of both their achievements and their shortcomings. The alternatives to this professional approach are, in equal measure, a superficial and a negativist approach. The latter is precisely the approach which characterizes the NEVA article.

It is paradoxical, but S. Andreyev literally takes the economic reform apart on the basis of negative examples taken from practical experience in 1987, that is, the practical experience of the time which preceded the reform. We, in turn, could cite more such examples, but since they are the result of the preservation of the old bureaucratic forms of management, they provide additional evidence in favor of the swiftest possible implementation of the restructuring of production relations which began in 1988 and which, by virtue of its unprecedented scale, will be completed only by the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan. The national economy is going through a transitional period and both old and new elements are intertwined in the existing economic mechanism. But why do some people put all the existing difficulties down to the newly emerging democratic elements rather than the old, bureaucratic ones?

Despite the claim of the author of the NEVA article that the reform is in a state of necrosis, the economy's slide into crisis was halted with the introduction of the Law on the State Enterprise last year. The national income growth rate in 1988 was double the figure for 1987. Positive trends such as the overfulfillment of plans for labor productivity growth in industry, the renewal of output in machine building, and so forth were also registered for the first time. As a result of the elimination of many intermediate components in ministries and departments the number of administrative workers has been reduced by almost 600,000 people. With the switch this year of all enterprises in the physical production sphere to the new conditions of management, these positive processes should stablize. By the beginning of the 13th 5-Year Plan, when all the components of management—planning, prices, material and technical supply, and the vesting of economic power in the local soviets—will have been reformed, the economic mechanism will be genuinely radically new.

At the same time, without waiting for the completion of the reform, it is necessary to tackle more vigorously such crucial problems as the saturation of the market with essential goods, improvement of monetary and financial relations, and so forth, while at the same time deepening and developing the ideas enshrined in the new economic mechanism. Much is already being done in this sphere: Defense sectors are beginning to focus on the consumer market and the most progressive forms of economic accountability are being introduced. In Leningrad, for instance, 78 enterprises are currently operating under the second model, and a number of enterprises, including front-ranking enterprises, have switched to leasing. We are hoping that the introduction of the new law on output quality and the protection of consumer rights and the development of worker control in all spheres of life will have a positive impact. At the same time, the solution of many obvious issues has been unjustifiably delayed. So, as a result of incompetence and lack of personal responsibility on the part of leaders at the Gosagroprom, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of Power and Electrification, and so forth, the senseless squandering of multibillion-ruble sums on ecologically harmful projects is continuing. We are hoping that the newly elected USSR people's deputies will make the culprits strictly answerable for this because the economy of any country, even the most highly developed country, cannot withstand burdens such as the implementation of the Volga—Chogray or the Volgo-Don-2 and other projects. Here lies, located on the surface, one of the reserves for eliminating our state budget deficit.

Thus, difficulties do exist, they are evoking concern—but this is no reason to blame the new economic mechanism for them, no reason to despair. We believe that a solution to the difficulties does not lie in looking for "enemies of restructuring" and "counterrevolutionaries" and in efforts to eliminate them, but in the consistent implementation and adjustment of a radical economic reform and also political, legal, and other reforms aimed at restructruring and the consolidation of socialist social relations.

The thesis about the changed class nature of the Communist Party evokes serious objections. Proceeding from the real facts of the deformation of the Leninist concept of the party, which we admit today and which led, in particular, to the lumping together of the functions of party, state, and economic organs, S. Andreyev arrives at the conclusion that the state of the whole people has degenerated into a dictatorship of a new class—the production management apparatus—whose interests are allegedly expressed by the party. A logical consequence of this approach is then the inevitable admission of the existence of class antagonisms in society. At first glance this would appear to be a relatively bold, nontrivial, and even effective construction! Especially since it is backed up by numerous examples which the reader himself can easily continue drawing on from articles published in the press about the dictatorship of economic organs, about manifestations of monopolism in the work of ministries, about bureaucratic red tape in tackling diverse production problems or day-to-day issues. However, this construction collapses if its foundation—the proposition that a new sociopolitical class has emerged in our country—is subjected to a serious scientific analysis.

Let us note right away that the idea which he puts forward about a new class of bureaucratic administrators is not original (similar ideas were advanced quite some time ago by the Yugoslav M. Djilas, for instance). However, this is not the main point. The main point is whether such a sociopolitical class actually exists. It seems to us that this claim is unfounded. The main vulnerable spot in his concept lies in his attempt to ascribe the complex phenomenon of bureaucratization which has encompassed the whole of our society and which affects all social groups equally, albeit in different ways (in the mentality of leveling which has taken root, in the inertia of many labor collectives, in the stance of the executive for whom everything is done and decided "at the top," and so forth) to the activities of only one stratum of people whom he blames for the specific troubles besetting our economy.

While this "dark force"—the many-million-strong class of bureaucratic administrators—remains in power, restructuring has every chance to end in failure, the author of the NEVA article believes. Consequently, he also reduces the methods of dealing with this evil, which are aimed at dismantling the corresponding system of social relations as outlined in party decisions, essentially to a class struggle against these people. This stance immediately evokes historical associations with the crimes committed in the name of de-kulakization, the routing of "bourgeois" specialists in our country, the opening of fire "on the headquarters," and the reeducation of managers and the intelligentsia, which were episodes in the history of socialism. We all know well what this led to, and what tragedies it entailed.

So whom, specifically, is S. Andreyev proposing to "de-bureaucratize" in the name of the intensification of the economy? Of the approximately 17 million people whom our statistics classify as administrative staff, unjustifiably lumping together totally different social strata, some 16 million are members of labor collectives rather than ministry employees. They include 5 million shop foremen, section or department chiefs, and directors; 2.5 million engineering and technical staff; 2.4 million accountants and bookkeepers; 870,000 economists. More than 4 million are auxiliary staff providing technical assistance to the administrative personnel—cleaners, security guards, and so forth.

Lumping together these groups of people with such widely varying socioeconomic interests into one "exploiter-conservative" class evokes serious objections. First, because such a classification essentially rids the real bureaucrats of their responsibility by putting on a par the excessively inflated Gosagroprom apparatus, for instance, and a sovkhoz management board which is financed by the labor collective. And second, because it ignores a universal trend which has emerged in the social and class structure, which is that the contemporary scientific and technical revolution demands throughout the world an enhanced role for the technical intelligentsia and management. In our country, for some reason, these strata are the bearers of reactionary views only. Let us note in passing that if capable engineering and technical staff workers are underpaid—for some reason S. Andreyev claims in his articles that their wages are undeservedly high—then workers, writers, and the whole of society stand to lose from this.

And third, you cannot superimpose the prereform situation, where staff had no access to management and the distribution of funds, onto the current social and class structure without demonstrating a lack of understanding of the social consequences of the introduction of the new economic mechanism. In the new conditions of work which now apply in all physical production sectors, the wages of enterprise workers, engineering and technical staff, and line management are formed either wholly (under the second model) or partially (under the first model) from the enterprise's economically accountable income, which brings its members closer together and unites their material interests. And these united interests of the economically accountable labor collective, which extends from workers to the director, whom they have elected, and the labor collective's right of veto objectively counter the departmental interests of the relatively large bureaucratic stratum which still exists at the top. Therefore the practice of the fictitious reduction of the state apparatus by switching labels and registering ministry employees on the staff of enterprises is complicating the transition of these enterprises to genuine self-financing and self-management, as S. Andreyev quite rightly notes.

Fourth, the power of ministries is being undermined thanks to the creation of independent intersectorial state associations of the "Energomash" and "Tekhnokhim" type. As a result, the Leningrad Metallicheskiy Plant, the Izhorskiy and Nevskiy machine building plants, and others were able in 1988 for the first time in the history of the USSR to choose freely between the ministry and a socialist concern. Consequently, a healthy competition has arisen between the ministries and the concerns which aims to attract enterprises to become part of their setup. The course toward the creation of this kind of alternative for labor collectives must be developed in every way.

Fifth, it must not be ignored that central departments can play a certain positive role, provided they operate under the people's supervision. After all, they can counter the group egoism of enterprises which is engendered by goods shortages and the fact that the reform has not yet been completed. This egoism manifests itself in the desire of all members of the labor collective (that is, both the workers and the director) to increase the economically accountable income on the basis of unjustified price rises and the gradual elimination from the market of cheap goods in everyday demand. Therefore the introduction in 1989 of the state order for the production of goods for children and the aged as a temporary measure to combat group egoism was fully justified.

And sixth and last, both departmental interests and group egoism must be curbed through the development of regional self-management based on territorial economic accountability. Local soviets, expressing the interests of the consumers of a given region, are entirely capable of countering both departmental interests and enterprise egoism.

As you can see, the structure of the interests of the various social groups is not as straightforward as S. Andreyev perceives it by dividing society into revolutionaries and reactionaries. The interests of every social group are contradictory, they contain progressive and conservative elements. It is important to learn to combine these opposites and to channel the energy of all strata of society, with the working class as its decisive force, into the renewal of socialism. Given a skillful adjustment of the forms and methods of management, it is possible to gear all interests—interests based on economic accountability, departmental interests, and local interests—to nationwide goals such as the implementation of a strong social policy and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Proceeding from his own analysis of society's social and class structure which has led him to a distorted view of the class character of the party, S. Andreyev essentially rejects the CPSU as a force capable of really directing the renewal of society which it has initiated. The essence of this stance is expressed in the remark that "only an external force can make party organs work as they should...." And he proposes alternative political structures as such a force.

Let us note here that in the process of the democratization of society the party itself encourages the political activeness of the masses. At the same time, unfortunately, it is not always ready for equivalent steps in respect of its grassroots components in the new situation. This is no a calamity, as the party, too, is having to learn not only to direct the process of democratization but also to enter into, as far as it itself is concerned, new partnership relations with both "formal" and "informal" social organizations. Certain of the new self-initiative formations have never before existed in our history (ecological committees, for instance) and we simply have no previous experience of dealing with them. At the same time, the party's fundamental line in situations of this kind is clear: Anything that operates in favor of restructuring deserves support. As is well known, party organs in Leningrad have facilitated the establishment of such group-initiative formations covering a wide range of activities as the "Miloserdiye" [Charity], "Obnovleniye" [Renewal], "Memorial," "Spravedlivost" [Justice], "Delta," and dozens of others. It is expedient to develop these processes further. For instance, we believe that the time has come to set up an association of Leningrad labor collective councils.

However, as practical experience in our city too has shown, these informal associations quite often succumb to the influence of extremist leaders and embark on the path of anticonstitutional activities. Which is what happened, for instance, in the case of the "Democratic Union."

In the interrelations of party and soviet organs with informal organizations there are, naturally, ups and downs, and elements of overcaution and so forth. We take the view that there is no need to overdramatize this. Genuinely democratic forms of contacts must be sought persistently and with patience, and mutual relations must of course be built on the basis of respect and equal rights. Accepting these rules of conduct, Communists who join the various informal organizations reserve the right to defend their principled stances within these organizations. Does this mean maybe that this attitude of Communists toward the fulfillment of the stipulations of their statutes constitutes party interference in the affairs of social organizations?

The main thing is to ensure that informal associations, comprising Communists and nonparty people, Komsomol members and non-Komsomol youth, people of various ages and professions and different nationalities, are formed around a concrete issue aimed at promoting restructuring. However, are not efforts to pit Communists and nonparty people, kolkhoz members and the intelligentsia, workers and management staff against each other in the struggle for restructuring, especially within the framework of the associations and parties created by each class or social stratum, as the author of the NEVA article is doing, the shortest way toward splitting society rather than consolidating it, which is what the CPSU is advocating and what constitutes the objective need today.

S. Andreyev also regards as unacceptable the thesis voiced at the 19th party conference that democracy may be misused for antidemocratic purposes, and specifically for the creation of opposition parties. We apply the term "opposition" to the activities of parties which occupy anticonstitutional positions, which, in our conditions, also means antisocialist positions.

In principle, Marxism does not rule out the possibility of the emergence under socialism of other parties which recognize the socialist path of development chosen by the people. Existing practice in many countries bears this out. The emergence of new parties is always a specifically historical process which cannot be hampered or artificially stimulated. No "cast iron" arguments should be sought as propaganda against a multiparty system. This question can only be posed in specific terms: Do there exist today serious social forces capable of presenting the people with an action program on a socialist platform that differs from that of the CPSU? In our opinion there are no such forces. The fact that antisocialist elements in society are nonetheless trying to create political structures that are opposed to the CPSU is another matter. We cannot but react, of course, to these attempts and actions, resolutely and openly rebutting those forces which are trying to push the masses toward anarchy and lawlessness, destabilization, and the division of society.

And here is another question which inevitably arises in the course of the discussion of this problem. Is a multiparty system always a guarantee of genuine democracy?

Will not the creation of other parties lead to disunity within society even if these parties have names and policy goals similar to those of the CPSU?

We believe that it is more expedient to develop the debate which has already begun as to whether the CPSU itself is capable of ensuring such a free, polemical, alternative discussion of key questions pertaining to the life of society that the need for some kind of external opponent falls away. In other words, whether a situation of internal argument based on different approaches to questions of tactics, for instance, is possible in party life. Let us straightaway make the reservation that it is a question, first, of various ideological and theoretical disputes, which rules out any factionalism (meaning any organizational separation of a part from the whole). And second, that we envisage this kind of situation only at the stage prior to the adoption of a decision on a given question. All this is entirely realistic, and we believe that the restoration of this kind of situation in the party would largely defuse the idea now being actively foisted on us of a mandatory multiparty political system as a guarantee of democracy.

Unquestionably, the restoration of the aforementioned aspect of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism demands from us new approaches to the interpretation of the problem of party unity and renunciation of the concept of its monolithic unity which reigned during the stagnation era. It was considered then that at any time and on any question there must, without fail, be a unity of opinions and stances within the party. The advancement of different views reflecting Communists' specific interests was frequently classified as deviation from the party line. However, life itself has shown that the unity of party ranks is not a result that is achieved once and for all. Viewed from the positions of the new political thinking, party unity is a qualitative state which must be continually renewed, reestablished again and again in the party ranks through the development of the party's strategy and tactics, the solution of intraparty contradictions, overcoming of mistakes, and so forth. The presence in society of multifaceted social, group, and other interests is inevitably reflected in the party and its policy and objectively engenders differences and discrepancies in views and stances and presupposes the existence of controversial, problematic, and even open questions. This approach as a norm of party life was recreated by the decisions of the 19th party conference.

The problem of the establishment of effective people's control over the party's activities which S. Andreyev raises also deserves the closest attention. Yet the claim of the author of the NEVA article that such control is totally lacking in contemporary life is hardly fair. And although there is much in this area that will have to be radically improved, it is imposible to ignore the real positive changes that have taken place in recent years. They include the provision of more information to the population on intraparty work, the discussion in conditions of glasnost of the decisions adopted by the party, the publication of party documents, consideration of public opinion, evaluation of Communists' candidacies during the current election campaign, and much else.

It was emphasized at the 19th party conference that in developing glasnost the party is invariably guided by the Leninist behest that the masses must know everything, be able to judge everything, and approach everything consciously. Hence the increasing importance in the implementation of the political course of the need to introduce corrections to this course as and when necessary. This necessity ensues mainly from the interpretation of the restructuring experience accumulated by the masses and from their realization that some of the adopted decisions were erroneous or inadequate, which is a subject on which Soviet people are expressing their views quite actively.

So, over the past year quite a few major decisions have been taken at the request of the public with a view to rectifying mistakes which frequently date back to the stagnation decades. As an example it is possible to cite the proposal to radically improve the ecological situation in the area of the Aral Sea, reconsideration of the decision to build a gigantic tractor plant at Yelabug (and its redesignation to car production), removal of the ceilings on subscription, and so forth.

The aforementioned positive changes must not blind us to the fact that the compilation of diverse—especially departmental—documents which determine state policy in specific sectors or spheres of activity still frequently takes place behind closed doors and without the working people's opinion being taken into account. There is also evidence of an excessive zeal to scotch all kinds of independent popular initiative which does not quite fit the procrustean bed of the former approaches and stereotypes. In a number of cases we have come up against party and state organs dragging their feet. In such cases the drive for tackling overdue problems may pass to various self-initiative formations of the working people, which, naturally, leads to the creation of a certain gulf between party organizations and the mood of the masses and causes great difficulties in the former's work.

Clearly, with the growing real independence of enterprises and regions and the enhancement of people's political standards, situations will arise more and more frequently wherein labor collectives use different forms to express their views on the work of party leaders and even whole organizations, presenting them with a kind of vote of confidence. Communists must be ready to accept even such an unusual form of people's control.

Summing up some of the results, we would like to note that S. Andreyev's stance, although it is not devoid of individual correct observations, reflects on the whole one-sidedly the complex economic and sociopolitical processes of restructuring and ignores the positive trends which have emerged in the development of society. The author advocates that the difficult work of the CPSU aimed at eradicating bureaucracy as a phenomenon be supplanted by a class struggle against individual groups of people which, though it may appear outwardly attractive, is unfounded in theoretical terms and extremely dangerous in practical terms. S. Andreyev is convinced that without such a class struggle the CPSU will not be able to implement the decisions of the 19th party conference. We take the opposite viewpoint. The CPSU, by consolidating all the healthy forces in society and formal and informal social organizations, is itself capable of restructuring and cleansing itself.

Assisting it in this noble work is the task of all who are genuinely interested in the success of restructuring. There is no alternative to social renewal under the leadership of the party.

Democratic Centralism's Role in Restructuring

PM1303110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with L.A. Onikov by A. Ilin under the rubric "Pages of History": "Leninist Principle of the Party's Life"; date and place not specified; first three paragraphs are introduction; in an interview carried in PRAVDA on 21 July 1988 Onikov was described as "inspector of the CPSU Central Committee Propaganda Department"]

[Text] "Restoring the Leninist Concept of the Party" was the title of the discussion with L.A. Onikov carried in PRAVDA for 2 January. The discussion about the party and restructuring was continued in the conversation "Stock of Trust" (PRAVDA for 13 February). These and other features in the paper about the problems of democratizing party life, increasing glasnost and efficiency in party committees' work, and strengthening the CPSU's role as the political vanguard of society prompted numerous reactions from readers.

Readers touch on a wide range of questions in their letters. We will mention just a few of them. M. Korol of Zhitomir Oblast, V. Petukhov of Leningrad, and other authors write of the importance of strengthening the party's link with the people. In his letter V. Pugachev (Novgorod), CPSU member since 1953, talks of the importance that V.I. Lenin attached to a critical attitude on the part of the party toward its own errors. Problems of restructuring were also discussed in connection with the PRAVDA features at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Party Building Department and in a number of primary party organizations, for instance, a meeting of Communists at Nelidov CPSU Gorkom in Kalinin Oblast.

But probably the greatest number of letters reacting to the discussion "Restoring the Leninist Concept of the Party" concern the principle of democratic centralism. V. Okoneshnikov of Yakutsk, N. Nizyev of Stavropol, B. Trundenko from Belaya Tserkov, and a number of others touched on various aspects of it.

PRAVDA correspondent A. Ilin asked L.A. Onikov, author of the discussion, to answer readers' questions:

[Ilin] Here is an interesting letter from Candidate of Historical Sciences M. Mukhambetov (Uralsk). He writes: "You might form the impression from the discussion that the priority in formulating democratic centralism—that most important principle of the party's organizational structure, life, and activity—was Stalin's. Yet that is not so," the letterwriter correctly remarks.

[Onikov] That is indeed not so. Judging from the other problems touched on in his letter, to which we will return again, M. Mukhambetov has a profound grasp of the history of the issue.

But there are also letters whose authors' understanding of matters is that Stalin was indeed the first to substantiate the principle of democratic centralism. Although you would think that our discussion had said quite clearly that today we cannot be satisfied with the formula (I emphasize, not the principle itself, but the formulation of that principle!) given by Stalin at the 17th VKP(B) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Congress over 50 years ago.

But since perplexed questions nevertheless arise, they must be answered. Clearly, we should not have omitted to mention them in our last conversation in the belief that they were common knowledge. We'll have to make good this omission.

The idea of democratic centralism was first put forward by K. Marx and F. Engels and was practically embodied in the Charter of the "League of Communists" in 1847—32 years before Stalin was born. It was V.I. Lenin who provided a profound, detailed substantiation of the principle of democratic centralism. He wrote about this at the beginning of the century is his works "What Is To Be Done?", "Letter to a Comrade About Our Organizational Tasks," and others. The principle of democratic centralism was first introduced into the statutes at the 4th RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] Congress in 1906.

At that time Stalin was not yet widely known in the party. It is true that he took part in the work of the congress, but his role in preparing the statute documents could not have been in any way substantial. It was only considerably later, at the 17th congress in 1934, when a detailed formulation of democratic centralism was first included in the VKP(B) Statute, that his role was decisive.

[Ilin] In this connection, Leon Arshakovich, S. Zhabasov of Alma-Ata raises a fundamentally important question. I will quote the letter: "I have discovered that the 17th congress added to Paragraph 18 of Section IV of the VKP(B) Statute four subparagraphs which did not feature in the party statutes adopted earlier, during V.I. Lenin's lifetime. Clearly, these subparagraphs were referred to in the discussion as creative work of Stalin's. If so, what precisely constitutes the 'sedition' distorting the principle of democratic centralism?"

[Onikov] In order to answer that question you have to proceed from the general thesis that Stalin's deformation of Lenin's concept of the party affected **almost all the most important principles and norms** of party building. Of course, it was implemented differently in each specific instance. But it can be said that there were also general, typical methods. As far as **words** were concerned, he seemed to do everything according to Lenin. He personally saw to it that a semblance of continuity in policy was maintained, and he did this extremely skillfully at that time, incidentally. But it was an illusion of continuity. **In reality** what was done was the direct opposite.

Democratic centralism is the dialectical unity of two opposites—democracy and centralism. Democracy without centralism will inevitably lead to anarchy and disorder. And centralism without democracy will lead to the bureaucratization of internal party life, the alienation of Communists from party policy, stagnation, and the stifling of initiative.

The principle of democratic centralism is **united and indivisible,** but the correlation between its component parts is not a rigid proportion that is established once and for all. No, the correlation between democracy and centralism is determined in a complex and intricate way by the **specific historical situation.** During Lenin's lifetime the correlation changed dynamically according to the changing conditions and nature and content of the tasks that were being resolved.

During his lifetime the party more than once deliberately limited—sometimes substantially—internal party democracy and intensified centralism whenever necessary. This was perfectly justified, for instance, in underground conditions and during the civil war, when the circumstances required unity of action and iron discipline and organization.

But the leading, indeed, one could say the general, trend for the future was the expansion of democracy and the sensible limitation of centralism. The practice of party life in those very difficult years when Leninist principles and norms had not been lost shows this more cogently than anything.

Take **the most general indicator** of the state of internal party democracy—the extent of the direct, immediate influence exerted by the party masses and every Communist on the shaping of party policy. That is, on the content of the decisions adopted by party committees and on their implementation and the monitoring of this process. In major industrial centers in the twenties a great mass of Communists participated directly in the work of party committees via temporary and standing commissions and other organizational forms. Around 16 percent of all Communists did so in Moscow. This was also characteristic of Leningrad, Tula, Sverdlovsk, Saratov, and other places.

Today we rightly regard the democratization of elections to party organs as a real major achievement of restructuring. After the long years of the personality cult and stagnation, there is at last headway on this question. Yet in the twenties this was a commonplace phenomenon. So-called "appointmentism" was strictly condemned then and only became the norm again during the years of the personality cult and stagnation. Back in 1927 in Khamovnicheskiy Rayon in Moscow, only 5 of the 106 elected secretaries of primary organizations were recommended by the raykom. The corresponding figures for Sokolnicheskiy Rayon were 11 out of 149, and for Moskoretskiy Rayon just 15 out of 277. It can be noted that here too a breakthrough and a return to democratic practices is taking place now, in the years of restructuring.

Or take the indicator of democratism represented by debates—both partywide debates and much more often local debates. In Lenin's time "discussion pamphlets" reflecting different stances were published. "Discussion Clubs" operated under large party committees.

Manifestations of the high level of internal party democracy were broad glasnost and the availability to Communists of party documents at the rayon level. And an unquestionable indicator of democratism was the existence at that time of party control organs **independent** of party executive organs. Other specific manifestations of internal party democracy could also be mentioned. In general, much of what is now gradually becoming part of our lives under the beneficial influence of the decisions of the April (1985) Plenum, the 27th congress, and the 19th party conference was a reality during the Lenin years.

Unlike Lenin, Stalin professed a directly opposite view of democratic centralism. Proceeding from a fallacious premise that he himself had "substantiated"—alleging that the class struggle inevitably sharpens as socialism advances—he retained certain elements of internal party democracy, or, to be more accurate, the semblance of those elements, but directed the development of the principle itself along the path of unchecked centralism.

From the end of the twenties the needle on the gauge of centralism was unchecked in its upward progress until it hit the bloody mark of "1937," and from then until the last days of Stalin's life it essentially stuck at that point.

Stalin's amendments to the party statutes should be assessed in the light of all these facts. In itself the detailed formulation of democratic centralism introduced at the 17th VKP(B) Congress contains no erroneous premise. It is not worth seeking "sedition" in any of its paragraphs, as S. Zhabasov of Alma-Ata puts it. But in reality, and this was very typical of Stalin, there was a crude distortion of Lenin's ideas and Lenin's practice.

[Ilin] What was the essence of the distortion? Is it pure chance that this formula was essentially not changed after the 17th congress?

[Onikov] In my view, the key to an answer should be sought precisely in the difference between the Lenin and Stalin approaches to democratic centralism. The optimum correlation between democracy and centralism was ensured flexibly, creatively, and in an atmosphere of glasnost during Lenin's time on the basis of a profound analysis of the constantly changing domestic situation in the country, the international situation, and the specific tasks being resolved by the party. Ensured at the party-wide congresses and conferences that were held each year, at Central Committee plenums, and in current Central Committee documents—resolutions, circulars, instructions, theses....

But what happened under Stalin? After the 17th congress, held in 1934, just two congresses were held in the almost 20 years until Stalin's death. Yet in those 2 decades the domestic and international situations changed fundamentally—and more than once! Everything changed. Except Stalin's rigid formula in the statutes. The principle of democratic centralism was immobile and frozen and ceased to be a dialectically operating organizational norm. It served, as it were, as the justification for the centralist trends fostered by Stalin in the life of the party and society and as the basis for strengthening the apparatus' power. Leninist ideas of democratism were discarded.

[Ilin] Could it have been otherwise, when violations by Stalin of Leninist norms of party life were a commonplace phenomenon in those years? Violations of the statutes' demands as well, incidentally. Stalin adhered only to those provisions of the statutes that enabled him to settle scores with his political opponents and to implant the discipline of fear in the party. You need only recall, for instance, the paragraph of the statutes introduced back at the 15th congress stating: "Party members who refuse to give truthful answers to questions from control commissions are liable to immediate expulsion from the party." Note: IMMEDIATE expulsion! Who had the right to determine the degree of truthfulness of the answers? The members of the control commissions, in other words, the people who put the questions. And Stalin, of course, was the supreme arbiter. Full scope was opened up for arbitrary assessments and ultimately for mass arbitrariness. Regarding all dissenters and anyone who was disliked.... If the norms of the statutes fettered and impeded Stalin, so much the worse for the statutes. For instance, they quite unequivocally determined the timetable for convening congresses and Central Committee plenums, but Stalin shamelessly rejected them...

[Onikov] Stalin's authoritarianism and dogmatism and his desire for "complete formulas" were quite graphically reflected with regard to the statutes' principle of democratic centralism. Remember how during his lifetime many eminent men in our social sciences vied with each other in noting that Stalin had given a "complete picture" of virtually all phenomena in social life. It was not for nothing that he closed even his Short Course in the History of the VKP(B), published in 1938, with the words "The End." Henceforth his was the only possible interpretation of history. An end was indeed put to scientific research by historians.

There is hardly any point in speaking seriously of the changes to the statutes concerning democratic centralism made at the Stalin congresses—they were so microscopic. For instance, the first subparagraph said "from bottom to top" instead of "from top to bottom," and four words were deleted from the last subparagraph, in favor of centralism.

It was only the 27th congress, and this is a characteristic sign of restructuring, that supplemented the formula with a fundamentally important provision regarding collectiveness of leadership.

[Ilin] M.S. Gorbachev recently said that the party is now steering a course toward preparing for its next congress. Obviously, there will be proposals for changes in the statutes. Maybe we should abandon the detailed definition of democratic centralism? Or, conversely, should we supplement it?

[Onikov] The congress itself will decide all questions of changes to the statutes. As for my viewpoint as a CPSU member, it is this. The mechanical restoration of a norm merely because "it existed under Lenin" is contrary to Leninism, which requires consideration and analysis of the realities of contemporary life. In my view, the present definition of the principle of democratic centralism should not be abolished, but improved at each congress.

In this connection I regard it as my duty to reply to the polemical remarks made by my colleague A.K. Masyagin in his discussion entitled "Stock of Trust." The principles of the statutes, he said, **must be preserved,** they cannot be constantly expanded and changed, still less turned "into some kind of instructions."

I agree that the principles of the statutes must be preserved. The question is something else: How to preserve them? We have already spoken of the consequences of a "solicitous" attitude toward Stalin's formulas. Now a few words about principles and instructions. Even today, certain provisions, for instance, those regarding the timetable for convening plenums and congresses, are normative in nature. Others have no such force and therefore are often declarative. Indeed, they should not be turned into instructions. But they must certainly be backed up by normative documents—resolutions, instructions, regulations, and so forth.

Take the provision regarding collectiveness in work. It too requires specific legal support guaranteeing its practical implementation, I would say. But the existing norms by which party committees are guided in their work were ratified long before the 27th congress and the changes in the statutes and have not yet been revised. This does not make it possible to fully implement the principle of collectiveness of leadership, as the restructuring of party work requires.

Should the principles be supplemented or changed? I would put the question differently—in terms of creatively developing them. I do not think we can manage without this. Above all it is necessary to cleanse them of the deformations that were allowed to occur earlier.

Incidentally, M. Mukhambetov, whose letter has already been mentioned, rightly draws attention to the resolution entitled "The Reorganization of the Party" adopted at the Bolsheviks' Tammerfors conference in 1905 under Lenin's leadership. This resolution includes the following provision: "While recognizing the principle of democratic centralism as indisputable, the conference deems it necessary to implement a broad elective principle, with elected centers being granted full authority in ideological and practical leadership while at the same time being removable and observing the broadest glasnost and strict accountability in their actions." As you can see, during the first Russian revolution, even in conditions of tsarist autocracy, Lenin and the Bolsheviks raised the question of "the broadest glasnost."

It is not hard to understand why Stalin, in giving a detailed definition of democratic centralism in the statutes, did not include in it the principle of glasnost. Perhaps following the philosophical rule of "cutting out everything superfluous," of which the participants in the debate reminded me, he crudely cut out glasnost—it was indeed superfluous under his authoritarian regime, given the omnipotence of the bureaucratic apparatus. I would remind you that it was precisely the elimination of glasnost in the life of the party and all society that enable Stalin and his entourage to freely falsify both the past and the present, to manipulate public opinion, and to mislead the masses for so many years via a rigidly controlled propaganda machine.

What I want to stress is this. One of Stalin's typical ploys was either to verbally proclaim some thesis that was to his advantage from the propaganda viewpoint without backing it up with normatives, or to effectively nullify it by means of secret instructions. Both written and oral. Here is a truly sinister fact. Article 127 of the so-called Stalin constitution of 1938 proclaimed: "USSR citizens are guaranteed inviolability of the person. No one can be arrested except by resolution of the court or with the sanction of the prosecutor." At the same time a secret resolution from a directive organ made it possible to examine cases extrajudicially and condemn people to death on the basis of lists containing dozens or hundreds of totally innocent people....

It is characteristic that one of the first steps toward restoring Leninist norms of party life after the Central Committee April (1985) plenum was the resolute expansion of glasnost. Much has now been done to this end. **It is all the more inexplicable that the principle of glasnost is missing from the existing statutes.** I think that this is certainly an instance where the provisions of the statutes should be both supplemented and developed.

Of course, this is not a goal in itself, but a means of activating party life. During restructuring it is especially important for initiative and a creative approach to be established in the life of every party organization. The resolution of these tasks will be helped by the unswerving development of internal party democracy on the basis of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism.

Kaluga Leaders Try To Suppress Criticism

PM0703124989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS "Rejoinder": "Glasnost Kaluga-Style"]

[Text] Individual leaders in Kaluga have a correct understanding of glasnost if you follow their speeches. They even advocate pluralism of opinion. However, a note on the election meeting in the electoral okrug was worth hearing on All-Union Radio as its author, TASS correspondent Yu. Solyanikov, was invited to the office of S. Strelchenko, the CPSU obkom secretary in charge of ideological questions.

During a 2-hour conversation the journalist was accused of nothing more or less than an attempt to "rubbish the city." Yet the note only said that it had not proved possible in the course of the meeting to avoid organizational formalism. The facts were not denied, but the journalist was nevertheless urged to "think within the framework of the law." He was told that if had any doubts, they should not be voiced publicly but by letter to high-ranking organs.

Journalists N. Babichev and S. Strokin from the oblast's MOLODOY LENINETS, who published critical comments on the same election meeting, received approximately the same kind of exhortations during an even longer conversation.

Mistrust of journalists is also manifest in the fact that they are forced to endlessly submit their election material for approval. Thus, a report on a meeting with voters involving the CPSU obkom first secretary, a candidate deputy, held a week ago in Meshchovskiy Rayon, has still not been published or broadcast on the radio. A third version of the newsapaper report on the meeting has been returned for finishing touches and is waiting for the over-worked party leader to officially stamp it.

The incident with the TASS correspondent's note had a sequel. A rebuttal signed by A. Ivashurov, chairman of the okrug electoral commission, was published in the oblast's ZNAMYA under the sonorous headline "Facts And Conjecture." The fact that the author used the rough copy of the notice for reference, which was twice the length of the published material itself and had come into his possession by accident, may indicate its conclusiveness. That article cannot be described as anything but nostalgia for old-style "unanimity" and an attempt to suppress any deviation from the "collective opinion" (read group).

'Unscrupulous' People Said To Exploit Informals

PM0703144789

[Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 March 1989 First Edition carries on page 1 under the rubric "A Source of Worry: Democracy and Responsibility" four readers' letters expressing concern and indignation over manifestations of nationalism, plus an unattributed comment.

In the first letter, entitled "Help and Warn," Major A. Knyazev (Carpathian Military District) warns about the "insidious" influence of informal groups and youth publications in spreading pacifist sentiments and the like among recent Army draftees. In the second letter, entitled "Without Losing Trust," printer O. Avdeyev castigates many informal groups—people's fronts and environmental groups—for failing to live up to the "noble" aims proclaimed in their manifestos and seeking autonomy as an end in itself.

In the third letter, entitled "We Have One Motherland," Junior Sergeant I. Byvshev writes that his unit worked to save people in Armenia during the earthquake and that he finds it incredible that young people there have forgotten everything so quickly and are brandishing the tricolor flag and shouting "provocative" slogans.

In the final letter, entitled "Called...an 'Occupier,'" Major M. Shilov expresses his "deep offense" at the way in which some people in the Baltic states treat Russian soldiers, given the good services done them in war and peacetime by the Soviet Army: "And you find that stupefied degenerates now call me an occupier. Insults against servicemen can be heard at rallies organized by local 'informal' groups and read on pickets' placards."

The unattributed commentary on the letters reads:

"Letters like these are no rarity in the editorial mail. Their number has increased particularly since the publication in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA of articles on events in the Baltic, the Transcaucasus, and Moldavia, and the article "Who Are They, the Members of 'Informal' Groups!'" analyzing the activity of various autonomous associations. While noting their satisfaction at the positive changes in our public life, many readers voice serious concern and alarm that far from everyone understands glasnost and democracy correctly. Some people use the language of democracy to disguise their descent into total license and laxity.

"Yes, the rapid growth in people's public activeness is one of the most noticeable features of restructuring. And the recent appearance of a multitude of different autonomous or, as they are called, informal groups is a perfectly natural reaction, under conditions of democratization, to long-fixed, uniform approaches to solving the most important questions of our life, to bureaucracy, overorganization, and the conservatism of certain official structures. The activity of the bulk of them is, just like the work of a trade union, the Komsomol, creative unions, or other public organizations, provided for under the Constitution.

"Many members of informal groups are actively involved in renewing our socialist society. Working in close contact with party and Komsomol organs, they are channeling their efforts into fighting bureaucracy and formalism, developing and introducing methods of self-management at the work place, taking part in the solution of problems concerning the environment and the protection of historical and cultural monuments, and taking a special interest in children's homes and war invalids. The activity of reserve servicemen's councils, which bring together Afghan veterans and military-patriotic movement activists, for example, deserve every support.

"And yet there are grounds for disquiet. Quite often work with members of informal groups is neglected. Party and Komsomol committees and local organs of authority in a number of instances exert no influence on them. Some informal associations, although they call themselves prorestructuring groups and fronts, try to exploit democratic rights for antidemocratic purposes: They blatantly attack our system and do their utmost to stir up political and social tension in society and to shift the masses' increased activeness away from party influence, exploiting restructuring's difficulties and exhibiting no qualms about employing falsification and slander, or duping the gullible.

"People who are politically unscrupulous and bear a grudge against socialism, and who until recently remained in the shadows, albeit now hurrying to make up for lost time, have attached themselves to the informal movement and the leadership of certain autonomous organizations. They seek to exploit restructuring processes to create an official opposition to the party and state, destabilize the situation, and incite ethnic discord. Cases of unjustified accusations being leveled against the Soviet Armed Forces and hooligan attacks against servicemen have recently occurred, particularly in the Baltic republics. Attempts are also being made by people to use the election campaign to impose their own demagogic programs on people, to pressure candidate people's deputies, and to get their representatives into elected organs of state power by getting the other candidates rejected.

"Army commanders and political workers are increasingly having to deal with representatives of autonomous organizations. On arriving in a subunit, former members of informal associations try to spread their views among their colleagues and instill in those around them their own assessments of events, which are far from always correct. Only glasnost, openness, and free discussion of all questions, no matter how sensitive or "inconvenient" they may be; well-argued rebuttal of all political speculation; and the exposure of the true motives of those that seek to make us think thusly rather than another way constitute the correct way of working with representatives of informal groups.

"The activity of informal groups demands precise political evaluation, stringent objective analysis, and principled, uncompromising, and enterprising action on the part of party committees and all ideological workers. A contemplative, temporizing attitude and indifference are unacceptable here.

"Democracy does not mean irresponsibility, total license, anarchy, or laxity. Democracy and glasnost should serve the interests of the people and socialism and the aims of restructuring. It is our common concern to foster in working people and in Army and Navy servicemen high political standards and the ability to live under democracy. The responsibility of every Soviet person for the fate of restructuring and the fate of the motherland is a particularly acute problem today."

* Nuclear Ship Still Anchored Off Vladivostok

WA1829012I Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by I. Kots: "Ruinous Drift"; for earlier reports on this topic see the 7 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT pp 90-92]

[Text] The nuclear lighter carrier Sevmorput has been anchored beyond the boundary of the outside roadstead of Vladivostok for the fourth day now. On 2 March, the city executive committee made an unprecedented decision banning the entry of the ship to the port and demanding additional information on the radiation safety of the vessel from the shipping line. Several days earlier, a session of the city council of Nakhodka "vetoed" a call by the nuclear giant, the value of which exceeds 160 million rubles, and the far-away Magadan did likewise. Tens of thousands of citizens of the Far East have sent their letters of categorical protest to the editorial office of the basin radio station "The Pacific Ocean." Meanwhile, every day of the forced furlough of the ship 'gobbles up' 54,000 rubles....

It took almost an hour for our port cutter to get to the orange lighter carrier sitting still in the wind. The vessel looked tired. It was launched by the shipbuilders of Kerch on the last day of last year, and traveled east in a long roundabout way. There were no accidents. Breakdowns did happen, but they did not affect the nuclear heart of the vessel. Concerned observers did not have complaints about its "pulse" either. In the Bosporus, in the Straits of Molucca and off the Cape of Good Hope, special cutters and helicopters insistently made circles around the lighter carrier measuring the radiation background. However, there was not even a small complaint. This is not surprising: the lighter carrier complies with the international safety code for nuclear-powered commercial vessels. However, what the specialists know is a sealed book to the local population. The shortage of information, combined with the unseen shade of the Chernobyl tragedy and the most complex ecological situation in the region, produced a powerful explosion of social indignation....

The lighter carrier is indeed built with a large safety margin. Provisions have been made even for a Boeing coming down on it, and a ramming hit on the side by an icebreaker of the Arktika type, and running aground. What if something altogether imponderable happens? What measures are envisaged for cleaning up after an eventual accident? Unfortunately, journalists did not get a response to this question: supposedly, nothing like that can happen at all. At present, such an explanation does not satisfy anyone. There is one more problem which is no less cardinal: do we need this sea monster which was started in the era of megalomania at all? This is not a rhetorical question: as recently as 1985, the former chief of the Far East Maritime Shipping Line Yu. Volmer came out against the nuclear lighter carrying system in this basin. However, having become minister, Yuriy Mikhaylovich "turned the rudder" abruptly.

Specialists at the shipping line and at the Far East Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet have calculated that the Sevmorput will operate at a loss of 12 million rubles this year, and 14 million rubles next year.

Deputy Director of the Far East Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet P. Averchenko explains: "The lighter carrier technology is efficient only under certain conditions: high volumes of freight, transportation over large distances, an extensive system of ice-free, shallow ports and [offloading] points in the mouths and along the rivers. The Far Eastern basin does not have such conditions, nor will it in the future. Sailors are not the only ones to lose. After all, our customers in the north win nothing."

As it is, the situation is dramatic. For the fourth day, the tremendous ship is drifting ruinously, as if an offended homeless child.

First of all, it would be logical to listen to explanations given by the industry leadership. However, at a meeting between the crew of the lighter carrier and the public, the chief of the Far East Maritime Shipping Line V. Miskov just kept silent.

What about the management of the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet? They also flew in to Vladivostok—a group of experts headed by Deputy Minister O. Savin. However, they came on an entirely different business—a conference on the safety of navigation. Interestingly, it took place in the same building as the aforementioned meeting between the crew and the locals. However, the guests from the capital did not see fit to visit the auditorium next door.

On the days off, the sailors of the lighter carrier held a day of public visits. Citizens of the city could see all they wished. This might clear the air at least to a degree.

* Ineffective Laws Hamper Fight Against Profiteers

WA18000583 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian
No 8, 25 Feb-3 Mar 89 p 8

[Letter to the editors with response by B. Tereshchenko, deputy department chief, Main Administration of Department for Combatting the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation, USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD]

[Text] **Recently one has seen more and more frequently in the "busy spots" people who are trading out of hand in various kinds of scarce items, obviously at exorbitant prices. This is completely unconcealed speculation in progress.**

Is this poor work by the militia, or does it attest to some kind of unannounced authorization for "free" under-the-counter trade?

[Signed] N. Kravtsov, Moscow.

I shall mention immediately that the internal affairs agencies have been consistently building up their efforts in the fight against speculation. During the last three 5-year plans and during the current one, for example, the number of crimes of this type that were revealed increased by a factor of 2.3, and grave manifestations of speculation, by a factor of almost 6. This process, in view of the increase in the unsatisfied demand for consumer goods and the increase in the amount of the public's monetary income, is not surprising.

But our work would be much more effective if our legislation with regard to this question was more effective. For example, it has been defined legislatively that the corpus delicti will exist only in the instance that all three components of speculation have been proven—cornering the market, resale, and the goal of obtaining profit. But the responsibility according to Article 154 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (speculation) does not apply if even one of these components is absent.

The public's completely justified complaints have been evoked by the fact that recently there has been out-of-hand trading in manufactured commodities. But if there is a lack of the corpus delicti, in conformity with Article 150 of the RSFSR Code concerning administrative offenses, the accused can be issued a warning or fined up to 10 rubles. There is no doubt that a fine of this amount makes the offense economically profitable. Certain individuals, over the period of a year, have been brought to criminal responsibility dozens or even hundreds of times, asserting whenever they were detained that they had spent completely appropriate amounts of money to purchase the commodities.

Under the conditions of the action, in the existing form, of Article 154 of the RSFSR Criminal Code (and the corresponding articles of the criminal codes for the union republics), it is extremely difficult to bring to criminal responsibility the "merchants" of this type, or the citizens who derive nonlabor income from the sale of commodities that have been purchased abroad, or, consequently, to prove that those persons had the goal of making a profit when they purchased the commodities.

Taking these circumstances into consideration, the USSR MVD has made recommendations to the appropriate administrative levels. The essence of those recommendations can be summarized by stating that the sale (or the preparation or attempt of a sale) of any commodities or objects with the purpose of deriving a profit is punishable, regardless of the pretext under which it was carried out. The priority here is given to the economic sanctions that are tangible by the offender. In our opinion, this corresponds to the principle of social justice.

However, the most effective method for preventing these undesirable social phenomena is still linked with the elimination of the shortage of commodities.

Legal Policy, Crime Rate 'Dilemma' Discussed

LD1003040389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 9 March broadcasts a 45-minute program during which members of the All-Union Council of Professional Ethics and Law of the Union of Journalists question Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, USSR procurator-general, and others about Soviet legal policy and the crime situation in the country.

Sukharev expresses his appreciation to journalists for their interest in and coverage of legal matters. "We face a dilemma today, comrades. I refer to the struggle against crime. In 1985-86—of which you are no doubt aware—we had a fairly appreciable drop in the crime rate and rate of convictions within the country. Subsequently, what happened to these processes? Roughly speaking, serious crime fell by a quarter. This was the result of restructuring. This was the result of the purification of the moral climate in our society, the result of glasnost and of the work that you in the media are doing. It is also, of course, the result of a sensible legal and criminal-administrative policy. But it is most of all the result of the self-purification of society and the struggle against drunkenness.

"Now these healthy processes have started to falter, so to speak. This year we already have an increase in serious crime, and crime overall is creeping up, with the exception of hooliganism. What has happened? What happened is that we have humanized our correctional policy, our criminal policy, our administrative policy. But in addition to this humanization, there should have been a tightening up on the public front; the potential for prevention in society should have been increased. A vacuum must not be allowed to occur in society; then we, as administrative bodies, will be able to continue to implement our criminal and correctional policy more consistently. But everything turned out the other way round. I would say that the entire law- enforcement front—state and public—has taken a left turn; it has lurched left. This is a very major issue for us. And in this regard I would like to appeal to the media. Esteemed comrades, we have felt our way toward a very fine path, a humane and just road that has already started to give us a return in the context of restructuring. Let us do everything in our power to make sure we do not slip from this path. Let us pursue this together. But the condition is that we really must shape this front of responsibility, this front of law and order and legality, of responsibility on the part of labor collectives, that now possess very great material and legal opportunities to tackle this issue competently and properly."

N.D. Bodnaruk of IZVESTIYA and a member of the council of Ethics and Law says: "If you examine the present situation objectively, the situation that emerges is that the procuracy is more a servant of the administrative- departmental system than of the people." He cites a number of examples, such as: "Comrade Chazov, the health minister, suddenly decided that medical cooperatives are not needed. And despite the fact that this order by the minister was an illegal, or rather unlawful decision, the battle is mainly being waged in the media, while the procuracy is silent, despite the fact that the law says that everything that is not prohibited is permitted."

Sukharev responds: "There is one point I would like to use here. The law, at the moment, does not say that everything not prohibited is permitted; it is in our program—it is a sort of slogan. But you are absolutely right: There is much inertia. We are, for the moment, ridding ourselves of the fetters of the old from the point of view of the law, but psychologically speaking, the procurators, particularly in the regions—and I sometimes catch myself saying things—do not always succeed. Much work has to be done here. The way I understand it, you are asking whether we will achieve all this, whether we will rid ourselves of this. We will."

In answer to a question about separating the functions of investigation and the Procuracy's supervisory's powers, A.F. Katusev, USSR deputy prosecutor-general says: "Various departments—the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Committee of State Security, the USSR Procuracy, and the Supreme Court—have now prepared their proposals for the decisionmaking bodies concerning the fate of preliminary investigations." Katusev says that his own view is that a committee should be set up to handle preliminary investigations, but because the ground has not been prepared for this, it was proposed that the investigation of the majority of criminal cases should be handled by Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies. "The Procuracy will retain investigation responsibilities of criminal cases involving employees of the law-enforcement bodies and also the procurator's right to obtain on demand any criminal file from any department—investigations will continue in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the Military Procuracy—and to investigate the related criminal case. But this question has not yet been conclusively resolved." He continues: "If we transfer investigations in this way, the Procuracy supervisory powers over investigations of criminal cases in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB bodies, and, in addition, we will also have our own criminal cases."

Sukharev answers questions on the role of the Procuracy, whether procurators should be able to run for people's deputies, and the procedure for submitting complaints from citizens to the Procuracy.

Katusev outlines the existing laws on how long people under investigation can be held in custody. "Let me cite the example of a criminal case that is underway in the RSFSR. It involves on Kashentsev. There is information that he committed 54 premeditated murders in different rayons and oblasts of our boundless homeland. This man committed murders for years on end. Just you try and investigate such a criminal case in 9 months!"

A member of the audience, identified by caption as G.I. Sviridov, a writer, asks: "Will the Procuracy ever be separated from the party apparatus? When will this question finally become realistic?" Sukharev replies: "I would like to tell you quite honestly and openly, comrades, that as far as the USSR Procuracy and the Party Central Committee are concerned, there is no problem. Everything has long been separated, so to speak. Perhaps it is awkward for me to say this, but I know the party general secretary's position on this and how strictly he calls people to account (?and checks whether we really have) cases of pressure being applied, and so on. Perhaps I am revealing certin secrets here. We had a conversation recently: a letter—an article—contained hints of this nature. I had a conversation, on Mikhail Sergeyevich's initiative, in which he said: 'Do we really have cases of this kind? What and where? I and the Central Committee must know, because we have embarked on this reform, this principled course, so let's make literally everything public, even the tiniest details. Let's give them a principled state, judicial, and party assessment." This is the stand we are already taking."

A member of the audience raises the question of what qualities an investigator should have. In his reply, Sukharev says: "It is a case of human rights here. There will always be unsolved crimes in society, and what we say is: Okay, it is better for us to save a person from the courts, or even two people, than to put an innocent man in prison. This is very important, very important."

Lev Petrovich Baranov, Moscow city procurator, says that there was an overall increase in crime of 6 percent, as well as a 17-percent increase in serious crime in the city last year. "It is a highly negative comment on our work that against the background of an increase in the number of registered crimes, the number of criminal prosecutions went down." There is a "very large number" of unsolved burglaries from domestic premises. Baranov says that queues for alcohol have now disappeared in Moscow, but "in recent months in Moscow there has been a perceptible growth in crime deriving from drunkenness". "Take a trip in a trolleybus, tram, or bus, and you will see that the odors are again in the air. This is a matter of concern to us. We are well aware of our task and our responsibility, and we will, of course, be doing a very great deal in this respect."

Sukharev comments: "You will know that for a lengthy period of time we coyly said in society that there was no professional, organized crime—let alone any kind of super-organized crime—and, indeed, we said the same thing about a number of other acute issues. It has turned out that all this exists." "And this does not just apply to the area of corruption, but also to general crimes, if I can put it like that." Noting that this is a "serious" problem, Sukharev says that in Kazan, "organized crime", into which young people have been drawn, resulted in "our private citizens" being "terrorized for a lengthy period of time". "It is no coincidence that we are now realizing what occurred in the south of our country surrounding Karabakh. Yes, it was also organized crime—I mean as far as corruption is concerned. We can already see what's what; we are slowly beginning to unravel things there. That is the situation, and we must tackle the problem better."

Noting the progress of restructuring, Sukharev says: "If we want to have more rights, more freedoms, and a more unfettered life—and we do—we will have to consider forgoing certain things: not our rights, but the 'anything goes' situation we had yesterday. We need a sharpness of approach and truth, and that applies to the work of the Procuracy as well. I support that, and I tell you so sincerely. But we also need competence. On our part, boldness is needed. We need have no fear. This won't do us any harm, so to speak. Thank you for your attention. Good-bye."

Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin on Crime

LD1303111189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1100 GMT on 11 March in its "Ostankino Radio Studio on the Line" program hosted by commentator Boris Kondratov carries a 55-minute phone-in session with Soviet Minister of Internal Affairs Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin.

Introducing the program, Kondratov provides the phone number for listeners who want to call in, and gives Bakatin's biography.

Bakatin says that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is now in a state of "substantial restructuring," explaining that "The Ministry of Internal Affairs collegium and political directorate have approved the major measures in this great work, which is based on the general political principles and theory of restructuring drawn up by our party's Central Committee." Bakatin says that "restructuring in general" is proceeding "with difficulty". "This is quite clear. As in any multifunctional and interlinked process, there are many contradictions and ancillary phenomena accompanying the main things. What particularly concerns us—I mean the Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies—among these concomitant phenomena, is the increase in crime. The causes of this phenomena would constitute a very broad separate discussion, and I think we shall probably find ourselves talking about this today. But I shall begin by saying only that as in all other spheres, we have first and foremost resolutely renounced illusions, an obsession with percentages, and the shroud of secrecy. We have disclosed all our statistics, and we believe that it is wrong to juggle with figures." Bakatin continues: "We have not disclosed these figures to frighten people. Of course, we do realize that some people could use this to somehow discredit restructuring and, as the saying goes, to throw a wrench in the works again and go around saying, 'just look at what is happening!'. But we must gain a more in-depth understanding of these processes. The statistics have been disclosed not to frighten people, but to enable society to be aware of the real situation, and, above all, to consciously seek ways to struggle against this evil."

Bakatan says that in 1988, 447,000 people were handed down sentences by the courts that were "not connected with deprivation of liberty". Another 474,000 people were "released from criminal liability" and their files were referred to public organizations, and 505,000 were released from corrective labor establishments. Thus, since last year "around 1.4 million people have required additional attention from society". "We are not darting from the lawlessness and repressions of the past to permissiveness and liberalism. There can be no question of that. What we are talking about is strict observance of legality on the basis of human, humane approaches. This is of course a difficult path, but it is our main path, our principal path, and I am convinced that there is simply no other way now."

In response to a question from a listener, Bakatin says that the efficiency of the militia should be assessed not necessarily by statistics, but by the mood and degree of calm in a given town or area. Last year, approximately 2,000 people were dismissed from Ministry of Internal Affairs bodies for covering up crimes, "unjustified refusal" to persecute, and "illegal actions connected with manipulation of statistics".

Last year, 3.5 million statements were submitted about offenses, while only 1.8 million crimes were registered. "Take one figure from the other, and you will see how many cases were dropped," Bakatin says. "Every time" the Procuracy carries out a check, "up to 40,000" cases of unjustified refusal to bring criminal proceedings are revealed, he adds.

A listener calls in to ask about the increasing currency of the terms "robbery" and "theft," and wonders whether this is because of more openness about crime, or because the militia isn't doing its job and these crimes are more frequent. Bakatin responds that in 1985, there were 73,000 cases, dropping to 54,000 in 1986, then 55,000 in 1987, rising again to 80,000 in 1988. "There is a general increase in crime", but the old habit of "pretending" that nothing is the matter "has not led to anything positive".

In a telephone hook-up, a militia colonel on duty at the Ministry of Internal Affairs sums up the reports that have come in so far that day. For instance, on the Leningrad-Odessa road in Chernigov Oblast, a coach has collided with another vehicle in fog and caught fire, and of the 40 passengers, 17 have died and 5 have been taken to the hospital. A number of thefts, murders, and other crimes are being investigated. Bakatin comments that last year, 47,000 people had been killed on the roads—a "terribly" high figure.

Bakatin says that last year, 'almost 50 percent fewer" people were taken into custody than the previous year. In a "number of regions of the RSFSR" last year, the procuracy did not permit investigative bodies to hold in custody one- sixth of "persons who had committed thefts and other dangerous crimes" and more than 4,000 people under investigation remained at liberty. "Far from all" responded to this "element of humanization": 14 percent went on to commit additional serious crimes. "So we need a more resolute approach here. I agree with that as a minister, and I know that the collegium backs me on this: We demand that the investigative bodies abandon such confusion." Bakatin says that the humanization of the law should affect the victims of crime as well as the criminal.

A listener calls in to say that "the employees of internal affairs bodies sometimes use forcible measures against participants of meetings, demonstrations, and marches, as happened in Minsk". Bakatin responds: "I think we've discussed what happened in Minsk so much that, really, I don't want to talk about it any more." Bakatin says that the Supreme Soviet Presidium decree governing demonstrations "for some reason evoked some sort of a negative reaction, despite the fact that in all civilized countries, such provisions exist". He says that the job of the militia is to "maintain public order" and "prevent mass disorders" when a demonstration has been given the go-ahead by the local Soviet authorities. When a local Soviet instructs the internal affairs bodies to prevent a demonstration, "We are obliged to fulfill the decision of the local Soviet authorities". At the same time, an excessive show of force is no doubt unnecessary. Generally speaking this must be done in a more civilized and sophisticated way, and there should be no excesses. There was something written recently—I think it was "Sovetskaya Kultura"—about Leningrad, where a number of girls wanted to mount a picket and collect signatures beside some old monument, but the police took them away. I think that we must learn how to do things here. It must be stated bluntly that this is something new, and we shall gradually get used to observing all the laws, the militia will act in a more civilized way, and no doubt will not commit any outrage or arbitrariness against demonstrators."

But the demonstrators themselves must "respect authority' and "treat the demands of the militia with respect". "If that does not happen, we shall be compelled to use force, and we shall use it without fail," Bakatin adds.

A discussion is held concerning the proposed measures justifying "necessary defense" against hooligans. A listener writes in to say that many of people are "afraid to step out of their homes in the evenings" because of the "leniency" of the laws. Bakatin responds that "an increase in the level of public activity" is needed. "We are reducing all our activity more to discussions and talk; what we need to do is to direct this activity towards practical, specific steps to protect public order wherever we happen to be—outside our front door, in our streets, or in our houses, we don't have to go far. This would be a very good thing, it is exactly in line with restructuring. But unfortunately, this is not happening. I must say that the volunteer militia groups are winding down their work. This is simply incomprehensible. Some people criticize the militia, some people would perhaps even want to live without the militia, some people say bluntly that we don't need the militia . What do we need then? Public groups. Where are we to find these public groups? The volunteer militia groups have disintegrated. There are no other grouups. I am obliged to say that we can of course see all these tendencies—those connected with the poor work of the patrol and the militia men who get into their cars, drive around in them, and sometimes just don't get out of their cars. I think we shall simply take their cars away, and make them walk and simply talk and meet with the people more often to find out how things are. That is one thing. But, on the other hand, we need to revive the public groups. Last year, the volunteer militia groups lost 790,000 members nationwide. What is going on? Seven hundred thousand is the equivalent of a major town—these people are no longer involved in these matters.

Bakatin agrees the decrease may be connected with the dropping of the 3-day leave allowance for volunteer militia group members, but he says public work is no longer public work when it is paid. He says that a recent conference of the heads of law enforcement departments, held at the Central Committee, commended a Kharkov "workers' militia" system, whereby workers helped to maintain public order at the end of their working day.

Bakatin notes that "in the last 2 or 3 years, we haven't learned to desist from drink, we haven't learned to drink without subsequently going around the streets in an indecent state". "Thus the militia needs to be more energetic in taking away these drunks." He says a compromise must be found between reducing the lines for alcohol purchases and the incidence of drunkenness. He tells listener: "You are absolutely right: we've had an increase in the number of drunks in the street, particularly in Moscow, and not just in Moscow, regrettably. And no doubt the militia must return to increasingly repressive measures." But he says that the 70,000 militiamen attached to local militia stations in the country could not cope on their own: "Public condemention of these drunks" is needed.

The minister says that "literally 2 days ago," an RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree was adopted "substantially stepping up measures against speculation". He says that previously, there was a R10 fine for trading in an unauthorized place. Now small-scale speculation would be punishable by a R100 fine for a first offense, and up to R200 with confiscation of the "items of speculation" for a subsequent offense. There would also be penalties for illegally selling items not produced by the vendor at more than the state retail price. In the first 2 months of the year, the "rate of exposure of speculators" had increased four-fold over last year, when the struggle against specualtion had been "rather sluggish".

Kondratov notes that "Comrade Bogadanov", chief of the main directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee, is now deputy minister of internal affairs.

Bakatin says a law on the militia would be adopted this year to deal with legal and social protection for militiamen and to define militia rights and obligations. He responds to questions on militia pay, thefts from allotments, and the need to keep first offenders and hardened criminals apart at penal institutions. At corrective labor colonies, the proportion of offenders sentenced for serious crimes has increased by 20 percent in recent years to reach 42 percent today. "Thus working at colonies has become considerably harder, and more manifestations of mass disorders, and so on and so forth, have started to occur." Bakatin says that "during the earthquake" in Armenia, a whole colony had been released to enable people to "perform their duty and bid farewell to their relatives," "and they all came back."

Discussing the campaign against corruption in the militia, Bakatin says "the clean-up of the ranks is proceeding with great difficulty, it must be said, because no one is just going to admit their corrupt links with the criminal world. But it would be naive to say today that such links do not exist." Recently, the chief of the Kurdayskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Directorate Criminal Investigation department in Dzhambul oblast was arrested for being on the pay of drug dealers, Bakatin adds.

Discussing the reaction of the militia during the events in Armenia, Bakatin says: "If I may, I would like to refer to the serious events that occurred in Armenia and Azerbaijan which were derived from relations between nationalities, where on both sides there were massacres, murders, and acts of violence. All sorts of things happened. And it has to be said that the militia both in Armenia and Azerbaijan, affected in substantial measure by this poison of nationalism, were not capable of protecting citizens, irrespective of what nationality they belonged to. Not only that—they simply betrayed the interests of the service. And so they were naturally dismissed from the militia, and now they are bombarding us with letters asking to be reinstated. But I can say flatly that this will, of course, not happen."

'Justice' Society To Promote Rehabilitations

PM0903110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Mar 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Gerasimov article: "For Truth and Justice"]

[Text] Leningrad, 3 Mar—A new society which is being set up in Leningrad is actively helping to restore justice to all Leningraders who were the victims of unlawful repression.

Its founders—the party obkom CPSU Veterans Council, the Komsomol Veterans Council, the S.M. Kirov Museum, the Party History Institute, and the editorial board of the journal DIALOG—proposed calling the new society "Justice."

After all, justice has, unfortunately, not yet triumphed. Not all the innocent Leningraders who suffered have had their good names publicly restored. The constituent congress will have to examine the society's draft charter. This document envisages, in particular, uniting within the "Justice" society the active supporters of restructuring and the creation of the rule-of-law state, and propagandists for the positive experience of older generations of party members. The society will campaign for historical truth and actively oppose attempts at a one-sided and tendentious account of the past. People today do not need lies in any form. The embellishment of our history and the disregarding of those episodes in it of which the people are rightly proud are equally alien to true renewal.

Belorussian Book To 'Immortalize' Stalin 'Victims'

LD1303212889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The Belorusskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya publishing house has begun the preparation of materials for a book on the victims of the repressions of the 1930's, 1940's, and the start of the 1950's in Belorussia. The basis of the information on the epoch of the personality cult was laid back in 1974. However, at that time, the first attempt to immortalize the memory of the victims of Stalin's terror found no understanding or support. Nevertheless, the quest continued.

The long years of work by the publishing house are already embodied in the news edition of the Belorusskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya, where such narratives about the repressed as: "Died in 1937, worked in state timber procurement, and on building projects in the national economy" will at last be decoded. But the most detailed information is being prepared for an upcoming book. By design, this book is not a collection of dry biographies. It is a chronicle, a description, a slice of that cruel epoch refracted through maimed human destinies.

It should evoke memories, move and trouble the soul. [passage omitted]

Journalists Allowed To Visit Chelyabinsk Labor Camp

LD0703143889 Moscow TASS in English 1217 GMT 7 Mar 89

[Text] Chelyabinsk March 7 TASS—Fewer and fewer secrets are left undisclosed in Soviet society. For the first time ever heads of the Chelyabinsk Internal Affairs Department, in the Urals region, invited journalists to visit an enhanced-regime labour camp. When a TASS correspondent asked them what was the reason for this, the answer was simple: "People should know from reliable sources what kind of life people have violated the law have in a labour camp". [sentence as received]

Accompanied by officers, we passed through several doors and found ourselves on the camp square where we could be observed from different points. Frankly speaking, it is rather uncomfrotable to realise one is separated from the rest of the world by fences and several rows of barbed wire. Inmates of the labour camp that journalists visited are not just people who have made a mistake in their lives. They are murderers, thieves and rapists.

Work for society, strenuous but not overtly exhausting, is one way of reforming them. Several production shops at the labour camp turn out caterpillars for the Chelyabinsk tractor works. They work round the clock, in three shifts of 8 hours each. Everyone must work. Those who do not know any trade that could be of use at the production shops can learn it at a vocational school. During their spare time the inmates can attend a secondary school. The refusal to work is regarded as one of the most serious offences, punished by the withdrawal of visiting rights and confinement in penalty ward or punishment cell. We saw them both. Those who are kept there are not denied hot meals, are permitted to read newspapers and magazines and even to play chess or draughts for up to two hours a day.

Most of the inmates live in stone four-storyed buildings with central heating and a sewage system. Some 30-40 people rest after working at dormitories with two-level metal beds. If they have some spare time, they can spend it in special rooms where they read periodicals and books and watch TV.

The journalists also saw a dining room and tasted the food given to the inmates. Of course, it is not like cordon bleu, but quite good and nourishing. The food quota for those teams which exceed planned targets is 20 per cent greater than the normal ones. The team leaders' council controls the work of the canteen. This is not the only sign of democratisation that has appeared here. The staff of the labour camp are positive that it is impossible to reform a person by force alone, without a humane attitude to prisoners. This is why special days were introduced when the inmates are visited by relatives.

Every third inmate of the labour camp is under 25 years of age. About one quarter undergoes forced medical treatment against alcoholism and drug addiction. Last year the number of labour camp inmates in the Chelyabinsk region was reduced by more than 25 per cent. As a result of it one general labour camp was closed.

Ministry of Health Cited on AIDS Research

LD1203105789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 12 Mar 89

[Text] According to the USSR Ministry of Health, 380 special laboratories [for AIDS research] have now been set up in the major cities. A total of 16 million investigations have been conducted; 412 infected patients have been discovered, including 329 foreigners. In short, the danger of the spread of AIDS in our country is quite large.

* Investigation Continues Into AIDS Cases

WA18300393a Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by TRUD scientific columnist V. Belitskiy: "AIDS: A Portrait of the Background of an Emergency"]

[Text]

From a Session of the All-Union Emergency Anti-Epidemic Commission

Twenty-nine babies and six mothers—that is the current (and apparently not the final) result of the criminal negligence of medical workers in Elista which led to the mass infection with the human immunodeficiency virus. The readers of TRUD are familiar with this emergency situation—we wrote about it on 27 January, 7 and 16 February. Its significance goes beyond the bounds of the tragic event in the republic pediatric hospital. The question is posed more broadly: Can one say that everything necessary is being done in our country to protect the population from the "Plague of the 20th Century"?

This question was discussed yesterday at the All-Union Emergency Anti-Epidemic Commission [VChPK], which is comprised of the heads of a number of central ministries and departments. It was noted that the decision on protection from AIDS, which was adopted three years ago, is being carried out poorly: as the commission chairman, USSR Health Minister Ye. Chazov said, "There is not a single point of these decisions that one can say has been completely carried out; on the other hand, there are many points which they have not even begun to carry out."

Indeed, why have they not yet managed to prepare for warding off this mass invasion of the virus? After all it is already circulating in the country, and one can only guess where the next "penetration" will be. In his report, Deputy Health Minister Kondrusev cited the following figures: "Whereas today we have about 150 people infected with the AIDS virus—according to preliminary estimates, by the year 2000 the number of patients will reach about 1,300. Perhaps the actual numbers will be lower or higher; but the important thing is that the number is in the thousands, and that situation demands a principally different approach to the problem."

"You see, today, no matter how bitter it is to admit, the institutes and departments are trying to solve their own individual problems, and are not overly concerned about what their neighbors are doing or what they need.

"For example, everyone knows that AIDS prevention directly depends upon the level of culture of the people—and that means on how they are educated and what they are learning and picking up in elementary school, vocational-technical school and the VUZ. However, one cannot even begin to talk seriously about any kind of sexual education at all; these ideas cannot even be seen in the academic programs. As we have noted, the Komsomol too is far removed from the problem.

"Another example—condoms [prezervativy]. It is well-known that today, they are perhaps the only reliable means of prophylaxis. But at first there was no way that we could even bring ourselves to utter this word in public. And even now we are still thinking about whether or not it is ethical to write in the newspaper, that we need a billion of them, but we are still producing only 200 million. Incidentally, a number of countries which no longer titter nervously when speaking about them have long since been running television commercials about this method of preventing infection, and have been using the mails to distribute brightly-colored packets with promotional messages...."

We have already written about the different positions of the Health Ministry and the MVD, and about the exclusively departmental position of the industry. But one cannot help but return to the subject, after hearing the speeches of deputy ministers Yu. Kalinin (Minmedbioprom [Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry of the USSR]) and A. Kuzmitskiy (Minpribor [Ministry of the Instrument-Making, Means of Automation and Control Systems of the USSR]). How much effort it must have taken for Ye. Chazov to get them to admit that in order to begin production of one-time syringes, needles for them, and other one-time systems it is necessary to immediately appeal to the government for about 80 million convertible rubles for purchasing equipment abroad (or else even in 1990 we will still have nothing!). This figure was included in the VChPK resolution. But why on earth have the ministries themselves not appealed to the government?

The scientific collectives are at odds too. It was stated at the conference that they have abandoned each of their exclusive variants of testing systems, and as a result telegrams are coming in from the localities: we are halting our investigation; there is nothing to work with. Both the quantity and quality of the pharmaceutical preparations are unsatisfactory. Industry claims that science is to blame, and science is blaming industry.

But here are two more figures which were presented yesterday: only 158 scientific associates at six institutes in the system of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences have been recruited for research on the AIDS problem. Thus far, the Institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences are remaining aloof. According to data from abroad, meanwhile, nearly 100 scientists are required just for the process of transferring a single technology from the laboratory to production. It is worthwhile pondering the following data as well: In the USA, more than three billion dollars were spent on AIDS. Is it not time for us too to take an in-depth look at both the organization and the financing of research and practical work in the struggle with AIDS?

Here is a characteristic fact: The ministers and principal administrators of the departments they comprise did not come to the VChPK conference. Why? Are they not interested in the problem? No, the matter lies elsewhere: The commission does not have any real rights. It can adopt resolutions, but does not have the power to actually resolve anything. For this authorization is needed. One would think that both the situation in Elista and the general situation in AIDS prevention demand that a government organization with such authorization be created.

* Estonian Health Official on AIDS Situation

WA18300393b Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONII in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with ESSR Health Ministry Chief Epidemiologist Yan Karlovich Myartinu by G. Mikhaylova: "A Foreigner With a Tallinn Residence Permit"]

[Text] **As we have learned, on 1 December 1988 the first carrier of the AIDS virus was identified in Tallinn. We have asked Estonian SSR Health Ministry Chief Epidemiologist Ya.K. Myartinu to provide details on this emer-**

gency situation.

[Myartinu] Let us come to an agreement: no details whatsoever on the identity and occupation of this person. We must not deprive him of the right to social medical rehabilitation. I will say only the following: The diagnosis was established in Tallinn and confirmed by specialists at Moscow Infectious Disease Clinic II, which specializes on problems of AIDS. We have carefully examined people who had contact with this person. Thus far the chain of infection has not spread, nor has another virus carrier been revealed.

[Mikhaylova] Excuse me, but is that really possible—not to be infected with AIDS after a single sexual contact?

[Myartinu] Believe it or not, it is possible. Of course, one must be "favored" by special circumstances. The danger of infection is great, but not 100 percent. However this fact should not give people hope, that they would fall into the lucky percentage of those who do not become infected. The danger is great, and it was not for nothing that the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a special Ukaz, stipulating punitive measures against persons infected with AIDS who did not follow the regime.

[Mikhaylova] By what method were you able to "compute" this first carrier of the AIDS virus?

[Myartinu] There is an examination system for this purpose. It is impossible to examine the entire population one-by-one; the ways and means do not exist. What's more, we do not see any sense in it: Today a man from whom we've taken a blood sample may be healthy, but tomorrow he might become infected. We now have 15 categories of the public under observation at the serological laboratories. By 1 January 1989 184,508 people in the republic had been examined, of which 117,000 were blood-donors. We have the so-called "risk group"—prostitutes, narcotics addicts, homosexuals and bisexuals—under special observation. The person—the virus carrier, whom we "computed," belongs to this very group.

[Mikhaylova] At one time the rumor was going around the city that allegedly a prostitute suffering from AIDS was removed from an Inturist hotel to the wail of a siren...is this true?

[Myartinu] No. And I even know where that rumor was born—in the Finnish newspaper, ILTALEKHTI of 12 November. The author of one of the notices at that place was asserting that, allegedly, a women died in Tallinn from AIDS, and another 80 carriers were awaiting the same fate. Where such news came from is unknown. I have already written an official protest on this regard, and it was published in early December in RAHVA HAAL; and I would like the citizens of the republic to know, that this is a lie.

[Mikhaylova] Yan Karlovich, but how, I would like to know, do you yourself relate to the fact that now Tallinn too has been brushed by the black feather of AIDS?

[Myartinu] It was not unexpected; we supposed that sooner or later he would appear—either one sick with AIDS or a carrier of the virus. We must not forget that as of today, there are in the Soviet Union four patients and more than 100 carriers. Naturally, this fact can in no way make us happy. The other matter has purely a medical aspect. The fact that the Moscow Infectious Disease Clinic to which we send all our uncertain analyses, has confirmed our suspicion—is gratifying, if in this sad situation one can use such a word. In any case, this testifies to the fact that we will not ignore the presence of AIDS in our republic.

New Writers Committee To Restore Writers' Dignity

PM1303162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Mar 89 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Vologdin report: "Writers Meeting"]

[Text] On 10 March the constituent meeting of the "Writers in Support of Restructuring" committee was held at the Central House of Writers. The new public association has been set up within the framework of the Moscow writers organization, which is part of the RSFSR Writers Union. A manifesto was adopted and an interim working council elected.

Does this mean a split in the Moscow writers organization, the creation of an alternative structure from below? The committee members maintain that this is not so. At the same time 250 writers (that is, just over 10 percent of the total number of Moscow writers) agree that the Writers Union in its present form is an organization which is unsuitable for really implementing restructuring in literature because it represents, just as in the past, a "ministry of literature"—that is, a functional mechanism of the administrative-edict system.

The writers who have formed the new committee proceed from the premise that the Writers Union does not belong to its apparatus, just as Soviet literature does not wholly belong to the Writers Union. They say their goal is to enhance the prestige of the writer which was largely eroded during the years of Stalinism and stagnation, and to restore his dignity.

Under the provisions, any member of the Writers Union who is ready to actively strive for restructuring and democratization, who shares the ideals of internationalism and condemns attempts to sow ethnic strife or claim the superiority of one nation over another, may become a member of the committee.

Those present were addressed by V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union Board, and A. Zhukov, secretary of the Moscow writers organization party committee.

An appeal "To the Creative Intelligentsia" and a number of resolutions were adopted.

CPSU Central Committee Magazine Contents Reported

LD0903153589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Mar 89

[Text] The second issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS (CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE NEWS] magazine has been published and is now on its way to subscribers.

The issue starts with information about the party Central Committee's work in January, focusing on the issues in the first stage of the reform of the political system; on the election campaign for USSR people's deputies, which has begun; on the completion of the report-back and election period in the party; and on topical problems of socioeconomic policy.

Under the title "In the CPSU Central Committe," the decisions adopted by the party Central Committee Politburo in January are published. Among them is a decision to publish stenographic accounts of the congresses, conferences, and Central Committee plenary sessions, timed to coincide with the forthcoming 100th anniversary of the party. Here, too, are decisions concerning the results of the examination of the appeals sent to the 19th party conference; concerning the course of the work to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia; concerning measures to eliminate shortcomings in the pricing practice that has taken shape; and other issues.

The section "From the Documents Adopted Following April 1985" begins with a decision of the Central Committee Politburo, with a note from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, dated 28 November 1985, concerning the impermissibility of distorting the de facto state of affairs in reports and information reaching the CPSU Central Committee and other leading bodies.

What is also offered for readers' attention is the Politburo decision on the pressing problems of accelerating the development of the material base of the country's social and cultural sphere, adopted on 6 January 1986.

IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS continues to acquaint the readers with biographical data of the party's leading cadres. Brief biographical notes are published in this issue about the members of the CPSU Central Committee, elected by the 27th congress.

The column "In the CPSU Central Committee's Central Auditing Commission" describes the latest sitting of this commission and its work plan for the year 1989. A special section has been set aside for the activities of the CPSU Central Committee's Party Control Committee. It contains information about the questions which have been examined and about the appeals against decisions on expulsions from the party, which have been considered.

A sitting of the CPSU Central Committee's Commission in charge of drafting studies in the CPSU's history, during which the concept of the future publication was examined, took place. The magazine publishes a report on this sitting.

Publication of the documents of the Central Committee Politburo Commission for supplementary studies of the materials connected with the repressions that took place during the period of the 1930's, 1940's, and the start of the 1950's is continuing. In this column, the magazine describes the so-called Leningrad affair and publishes biographies of the rehabilitated Communists.

The "Information and Chronicle" section contains statistical data about the composition of the CPSU, and reports about party workers who have been confirmed and elected. Delegates to the kray-and oblast-level report-back and election conferences share their reflections on the agrarian policy issues. It is with this topic in mind that the magazine offers a selection of speeches, while a note from the CPSU Central Committee's Agriculture Department is also devoted to this subject.

The materials in the "CPSU Central Committee Mailbag" column sum up the results of work done in examining the working people's letters and proposals forwarded to the 19th all-union party conference. Letters sent to the CPSU Central Committee on the party's agrarian policy issues are described, as well as a number of letters on Central Committee secretaries' instructions which have been fulfilled.

A separate section in this issue contains, among other things, the chronicle of the activities of the Central Committee of the RKP(B) [Russian Communist Party—Bolshevik] during the January - March 1918 period, and also the composition of the RKP(B) Central Committee, elected by the 7th party congress.

The publication of the exchange of letters between Krupskaya and Zinoviev, Tsetkin and Trotskiy is devoted to Krupskaya's 120th birth anniversary.

Under the heading "Shorthand Reports from the Party Central Committee Plenums" this issue publishes a shorthand report from the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Future Uncertain for Party Conference Documentary

PM0203165489 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 26 Feb 89 p 5

[Interview with international affairs commentator Eduard Khamidulin by Dmitriy Kazutin: "Pluralism Abridged. Political Documentary Which Can't Make It to the Screen"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] At the Central Documentary Film Studio the Soviet Film Makers Union showed Soviet and foreign correspondents the film "Pluralism," produced by A.

Pavlov, script by V. Panasyuk. At a news conference following the screening, it became known that the new documentary's future is uncertain. "MN" political analyst Dmitriy Kazutin and writer on international affairs commentator Eduard Khamidulin discuss the film.

Eduard Khamidulin: So, you and I have just seen a documentary film about the 19th all-union party conference. The fact that the film was finished last year but is still on the shelf is incredible!

Is someone unhappy about the film, or maybe about the 19th party conference?

Dmitriy Kazutin: I think there are many such people. They are unhappy about perestroyka in general. Precedents of this kind exist in the party's history. Just a few months after the 15th party congress, Stalin went resolutely to work to revise its decisions. It took more than ten years before a revision started of the 20th congress decisions to debunk the personality cult. The desire to "forget" the 19th party conference is, of course, there. Summing up the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev—mincing no words—said that decisions made in the centre get transformed and often warped and emasculated before reaching work collectives. And he added: "Some people are biding their time and hope there will be no changes."

Cinema bureaucrats are biding their time too. The No 3 issue of the magazine Kommunist carries an account of its round-table discussion attended by documentary film makers. The discussion revealed many instances of films being banned, restricted or delayed. Commenting on this, deputy director of the cinematic art research institute Andrei Nuykin said: "...this is also an attack on perestroyka."

E. Kh.: Still, who is unhappy about "Pluralism"? Let's consider another question: what could be wrong with the film? You covered the 19th party conference for MN. Do your impressions of it coincide with those conveyed by the film?

D. K.: On the main points, yes. But I also learned many things from the documentary. For example, prior to the film I hadn't seen any "close-ups" of the Conference delegates. The film has brought them to me. And those close-ups have proved very impressive. The documentary highlights the same episodes that I regarded the most exciting as I watched the proceedings. They were exciting for their drama.

E. Kh.: You talk about the party conference as if it were a feature film or stage production.

D. K.: Nothing strange about that. The 19th party conference was a real drama of ideas. The paradox is that party congresses in the stagnation epoch followed detailed and carefully constructed scenarios and thus were devoid of all drama. They didn't allow for conflicts.

E. Kh.: All conflicts, clashes and drama were out of the question because there was no plurality of views. Pluralism was chucked out of party congresses at the end of the 1920s, after Stalin's idea of a "united" party triumphed. And while we seem to again be delving rather deeply into history, "Pluralism" threatens to become a "blank spot" of our day and age.

D. K.: Don't you think the documentary is already part of history, a period film? Indeed, there are very many great events sandwiched in between the last day of the conference and today. The September Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the discussion of constitutional amendments and the new election law, the Baltic upheavals, the acute worsening of the Karabakh problem, the tragic earthquake in Armenia.... Watching "Pluralism", I thought that the conference was so long ago.... My feeling is that those withholding the film are gambling on this "long ago" idea.

E. Kh.: Their gamble may prove a mistake. Had I seen this film immediately after it had been made, its impact would have been weaker. Documentaries grow obsolete, but this one is gaining in topicality.

D.K.: "Pluralism" seems to fit perfectly into the overall situation. As the situation becomes more aggravated, the documentary provokes keener interest. The issues discussed at the conference and portrayed in the documentary are at the center of the most pointed discussions of yet unresolved practical matters. For all intents and purposes, the political reform is only starting, as will be seen at the coming elections of people's deputies of the USSR. While there's no legislation on glasnost, it's proving a real battle to overcome those who oppose it. Restructuring the economy is also proceeding with difficulty. The problems in agriculture are to be discussed at one of the coming plenary meetings of the Central Committee, while ethnic unrest will be discussed at the next one. The film serves as a rather emphatic reminder about each problem. If shown today in the West, how would people there react to it?

E.Kh.: There would probably be a mixed reaction. For many it may be an eye-opener. Most people there can't conceive Soviet Communists as sincere, frank and alert individuals. Stereotypes are hard to break. They're more in keeping with the documentary's scenes of the times of Stalin, Brezhnev and Chernenko.

D.K.: Distressing footage. Compared to them, shots of the conference look like scenes from a nightmare. I've never suspected that official documentaries harboured so much of the spirit of Gogol, Shchedrin or Platonov. Suffice it to look at Budyonnyy clinging to Stalin, or Suslov, when he presents the fifth Gold Star to Brezhnev. A world of autocracy, official unanimity, of the high and mighty, and of senile decay.

E. Kh.: Do you think the film is another breakthrough to new thinking, to a new vision of our history and today's reality?

D.K.: Compared to the best hard-hitting documentaries of recent times, I don't think so. But it has accomplished one thing. It conveys the concentrated essence of the breakthrough accomplished by the conference. A breakthrough to political sincerity. It shows who stands where, and who is who. The earlier official unanimity engendered the opposite—a "shadow pluralism." Now that pluralism has emerged into the light. We literally are watching and seeing people learning—each in their own way—how to reason aloud, how to listen to others.

E. Kh.: Please note that the film features speakers who voice contrasting views, sometimes extremely divergent views. One such pair of contrasting speakers are Yeltsin and Ligachev. Could this be why the documentary is having difficulties? But then, their conflicting views are part of the pluralist atmosphere at the conference....

D.K.: Remove one word from a song and you'll ruin it, they say. As for me, the plurality of views at the conference sounded as harmony. The film precisely shows how Mikhail Gorbachev maintained this harmony. He conducted the conference in a genuinely democratic way, and day by day it grew more democratic. The general secretary defended some of the speakers and engaged others in dialogue. When he knew that some of the ideas expressed in his keynote address needed to be elaborated, he took the floor. Accepting the discussion and becoming one of its particpants, he confirmed the legitimacy of the discussion and his involvement in the pluralistic relations at the conference.

E.Kh.: So, what do you think it is that some people object to in the film? The problems it raises? Those who discuss them? Or perhaps the fact that "Pluralism" takes the country back to that early stage of perestroyka when meetings were central to it, that stage which ended after the party conference?

D.K.: The film takes us back to even more distant times. The 19th party conference, to a large degree, revived the atmosphere that reigned within the party during Lenin's time. Suffice it to look at verbatim records of those party congresses to see that this is the case. Even if the word "pluralism" was not in use, there was genuine pluralism then. Advocates of bringing back Lenin's principles of socialism, Lenin's norms of party life can't be confused by a documentary like this one which shows the incipient efforts to restore them. The longer "pluralism' remains off the screen, the more conspicuous this withholding will be.

Large Marijuana Consignment Seized in Tolyatti

PM1403105589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by Major S. Zolotarev: "Reliable Boys Needed"]

[Excerpt] In Tolyatti City a militia patrol detail apprehended criminals from whom 10 kg of marijuana were seized.

"This is the largest consignment of narcotics seized in the oblast in the past 2 years," Militia Major General G. Dankov, chief of the Kuybyshev Oblispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, commented on the fact.

The criminals were arrested outside number 56, Lenin Street. Militia Senior Sergeants M. Batyushko and M. Mishan were patrolling their sector at night, and noticed two young men carrying suitcases emerging from a doorway, but when they saw the detail, the two young men turned back. This put the militiamen on their guard.

It turned out that the "casual workers" from Kyzyl City, Tuva ASSR—G. Beregus, who had a previous conviction, and I. Belokopytov—had broken into an apartment on Novopromyshlennaya Street a few hours before visiting their "friend."

Visits to Kuybyshev by such "couriers" from other parts of the country have become more frequent recently. This is connected with the fact that local drug addicts have been deprived of their raw material base as a result of the destruction of opium poppy crops. But the criminals' way is barred by boys who have chosen work in the militia after serving in the Army. For instance, all the militiamen of the Kuybyshev City patrol and point duty service subunits are former soldiers and sergeants. [passage omitted]

Soviet Muslims in Dushanbe Consecrate New Mosque

LD0603225489 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 6 Mar 89

[Text] Dushanbe March 6 TASS - Muslims in the ancient Tajik city of Ura-Tube in Soviet Central Asia conducted their first prayer service in a new mosque on Monday.

The mosque is situated near the tomb of Mavlvono Usmon Charkhi, founder of the local Muslim community. The holy grave attracts believers not from Ura-Tube alone but also from the neighbouring Central Asian republics of Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and Turkmenia.

Pilgrims arrive here from Afghanistan and Pakistan as well. They can now pray in the new mosque whose Imam Mirzo Ismoilov, 27, was educated at the Madrasah in Bukhara, Uzbekistan.

"The consecration of the mosque has been made possible by the policy of restructuring and democratization now underway across the country", said Tajikistan's Kasis Akbar Kakharov.

"Believers are now getting involved on a large scale in peace-making activities, religious figures are seeking cooperation with public bodies, closer ties are being forged between Soviet Muslims and their co-religionists abroad. Over the last month alone new mosques have opened in the Tajik towns of Isfara and Kabadien. Religious books in the Arab and Tajik languages have been put out in larger print-runs.

"All these facts disprove allegations by certain information media, which are far removed from religious practices as it were, that Islam is as well as banned in Tajikistan", the Kasis said. "Our community shares in the full-blooded life of the republic. Tajik Muslims work in the cotton fields and at workbenches, in construction and local authority bodies without any discrimination whatever. Muslims here are granted the right to study the language of the prophet, make pilgrimages to holy places, including Mecca and Medina."

New Volgograd Cable Television Service Reported

PM0603124789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
3 Mar 89 Second Edition p 8

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin: "Did You See the Video? The Beginning of a Biography]

[Text] Volgograd—A cable television system has come into operation in Volgograd.

...They talked in English and sang a song with Michael Jackson. I was told to go over to Spanish. I had to switch to channel one. There was a feature film showing. The style of E. Ryazanov, but I did not know the movie. Cable television is starting to show movies that have not been on the big screen.

"The appearance of the new type of television in our city is connected with the Volgograd CPSU Obkom's major program for the city's socioeconomic development," Leisure Center director A. Shekhovtsov said. "The decision to set up cable television was made 15 July last year. We were given more than R100,000 out of the city budget. The first line was commissioned by 28 December."

A 48-hour test transmission was sent to the first subscribers—the "Volgograd" and "Inturist" hotels. On the second day the "Volgograd" duty manager pleaded:

"Switch the television off! The lobby is packed with people around the clock. They will not go to their rooms."

I will not go into the technical details of the innovation. In cable television the studio signals branch out along optical channels. You have to cough up R120 to make a connection. (All prices in the report are approximate). The subscription fee is R12-15 for the first channel, R6-8 for the second, the third will cost R3-4, and the music channel will be R8-12 per month. Subscribe for 6 months and you get a 15 percent discount, for one year and you get 25 percent off. Rather expensive?

"I don't think so," Shekhovtsov demurred. "Statistics show that using cable television is 300 times cheaper than buying a video recorder (assuming 7 years trouble-free operation); it will cost subscribers 6.5 kopecks to watch movies. Indeed, broadcasts by at least eight West European countries will be relayed via a satellite system using our own retransmitters, although we are only using state commercial satellites. Those are the rules of the All-Union Copyright Agency. I would also add that by 1 May it is necessary to attract more than 10,000 subscribers. Some 60,000 televisions should be operating in the first half of 1991. In the longer term there will be around 400,000. There have been so many applications that we are not accepting orders at the moment.

"I would very much like to describe the content of all three channels. Their subject matter, to be more precise. The first (main) channel broadcasts 36 hours per week: a diary of public, cultural, and sports life in Volgograd and in the country as a whole, and abroad, world achievenments of cinematography, hit parades, competitions, and concerts.

"The second channel is 24 hours per week: educational and informational programs, foreign language courses, popular science movies about different spheres of knowledge.

"The third channel runs around the clock: the TASS television service. A series of bang up-to-date reports on the day's events. The other one—the music channel—is 60 hours per week. It comprises high-quality stereophonic music broadcasts."

"You need enormous resources for all this. And not just rubles, I suppose?"

"We are a joint venture, involving the 'Volgogradneftemash' All-Union Scientific Research Institute and the USSR Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development, as well as the Leisure Center. We get 25 percent of the profits."

"Does your apparatus require people to have 'Panasonics' in their apartments?"

"Not at all. Any Soviet receiver will do."

New Television Station Opens in Kalinin

OW0903120789 Moscow Television Service in Russian
0930 GMT 7 Mar 89

[E. Bukhalov video report; from the Vremya newscast]

[Text] A new television center has been commissioned in Kalinin.

[Bukhalov] This event has been long awaited by the people of Kalinin. Not only did they wait for it, but they facilitated its advent in every possible way. They helped in the construction of the equipment room and the studio block, and in the reconstruction of the main pavilion.

The new television center is equipped with the latest domestic equipment made at the Shyaulyay Television Plant. [video shows control panels, television sets]

The Kalinin Television Service, which will broadcast three times a week, will be easily received in all the rayons of the oblast. Toward the end of this year, eight more rayons will be added to this number.

The new Kalinin television center is the fulfillment of one of the points of a party and government program to meet the needs of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the Russian Federation.

Alma-Ata Official Interviewed on Dam Dangers

LD1003203189

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0800 GMT on 10 March, during its environmental "Living Earth" program, carries an 11-minute interview with Mels Khamzayevich Yeleusizov, deputy director of the Kazgiprovodkhoz Institute, in which he recalls an incident described in a 28 January [year not stated] PRIRODA I CHELOVEK magazine article about a man-made drainage reservoir in the mountains of Kazakhstan bursting its banks, causing destruction and 10 deaths. The interview is conducted by an unidentified correspondent. The video shows Yeleusizov being interviewed. He unfolds a map and points out the position of drainage lakes outside Alma-Ata, showing the smaller lake that burst its banks, and the remaining larger one. He says: Here is Alma-Ata, and here are the drainage lakes. The city's drainage waters flow into these lakes. That is what was Lake (Mongol).

Asked whether these are man-made lakes, he replies: Yes, they are man-made. They were natural hollows and they began to fill them with water sometime in 1973, that is since 1973. Then they built the Kapchagay Reservoir and the town. Previously they used to release all those effluents directly into the river, the Ili River. But then there was a town built there and the water collectors began to take drinking water from the reservoir. At that time they created what were supposedly temporary lakes. But they forgot about them. Now they have become a great danger. That lake there—the video shows him pointing to a lake—burst its banks. I have already recounted the consequences to you. The account of that lake is in the magazine. But it was a little lake compared with the other one. These lakes are still not marked on the map, on any map. I have brought a photo here that was taken from space. If this lake here should burst its banks there will be a catastrophe equal to that which occurred in Yerevan, I mean in Armenia. Its volume is 800 million cubic metres. There were 50 million here in the first lake; in the remaining one there is 800 million. That is today's [word indistinct]. They have accumulated water over the years, and now there is the danger of it bursting.

The interview continues:

[Correspondent] But surely the authorities must know about it? They have lived here.

[Yeleusizov] They know perfectly well. After the lake burst its banks there was even a decision made by the republic's Council of Ministers. Certain measures were provided for, but I have been dealing with this problem since June; I have written an article in a newspaper. After that there was a lot of press coverage, as they say, and television coverage by the local republic television. IZVESTIYA and SELSKAYA ZHIZN printed material on this issue. But those (?crooks) are there. They get away with written undertakings, but the problem is still there just the same.

[Correspondent] Perhaps you are exaggerating? Perhaps things are not as terrible as they seem to you?

[Yeleusizov] No way. The main thing is that there are two problems here. If the lake should burst its bank, 50,000 people will die.

That is how many people live in this area, in the flood meadows of the Ili River.

[Correspondent] They will be washed away.

[Yeleusizov] They will be washed away. There will be nothing left of them.

The accompanying video shows vast torrents of water racing down between high rocks and then through a fertile valley, followed by street scenes. Yeleusizov continues: As if that is not enough, Balkhash will perish. There are masses of oil reservoirs here. That will be the end of Balkhash. And the second problem is they want to use these waters for the production fodder crops. There is immediately a closed circle: that is, water—vegetation—animals—people. And in each case an accumulation and increase in the salts of heavy metals takes place. They are the most terrible toxins, which have a long-term effect. What is being done at the moment is absolutely wrong. It is wrong in the sense that the source of these troubles is not being eradicated. The source is Alma-Ata itself. We use amazing amounts of water. The video shows children playing at an outdoor swimming pool with numerous fountains around it and water carts spraying the streets. Water is being used irrationally. If, say, 10 cubic meters per second are being taken from underground sources, our artesian wells, 7 cubic meters per second are being released as waste, are made dirty and thrown away. More than 900 liters per person. Whereas in Moscow it is 600 litres; we use even more. We must economize on water. And that water flows away in the state it is. There are no purification installations in the city's enterprises.

[Correspondent] What do you suggest? What do you propose to avoid this disaster?

[Yeleusizov] In June I proposed the creation of a series of evaporators, to help stop the lake filling up. But every day the waters rise by a centimeter. By the fall they will have started planting poplar trees. In principle, any timber crops. There are good land improvers. First they bind the soil together. Woodland is always beneficial. One must, moreover, use up that water as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] Mels Khamsayevich, have you appealed to Gennadiy Vasiliyevich Kolbin?

[Yeleusizov] I have appealed to him. I wrote a report to him. I fully substantiated it. Documents and maps were appended. For the moment there has been no reply or acknowledgment. I simply do not understand the stand taken by many of our bureaucrats. The administrative, managerial principle regarding work is so detrimental. We have created an ecological organization, the public Green Front in Alma-Ata. And with the members of the Green Front we went to Balkhash and met with the raykom first secretary. It would appear that this was a person who was held hostage by this disaster. He should have been the first to raise his voice at every instance. It is not for me to be occupied doing that. He is like the rayon leader, but he chastised us for coming. Then, of course, he came back to us and, when we had told him what we wanted, it seemed to get through to him. What actually happened is not clear. Perhaps he telephoned the obkhom and complained that we went there to incite people.

[Correspondent] What was his name?

[Yeleusizov] Viktor Sunov, I think. I don't remember now. In general, we have a strange way of thinking about things. At the raykom I talked about it with some of the lads. I told them that they would perish here, too, if that happens. They asked what were they expected to do about it, and if it was together with the people then it did not matter. That is probably some kind of abnormal way of thinking about things.

[Correspondent] Are you a party member?

[Yeleusizov] Yes, but 4 months ago they excluded me from the party.

The correspondent, speaking above Yeleusizov's voice, says that the decision of the primary party organization of the Kazgiprovodkhoz Institute to exclude Yeleusizov from the Party has not been sanctioned by the Kalininskiy district party committee of the city of Alma-Ata. He claims, however, that his exclusion is not a result of the lake campaign—although this did perhaps aggravate things—but that he is not regarded as suitable for his post at the institute. He says that he must continue his campaign, that he cannot sit by and allow such a catastrophe.

Industrial 'Fog' Causes Fatal Bus Accident

PM1303165189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Mar 89 First Edition p 6

[V. Mazurov report under the "Accident" rubric: "Crash in the 'Fog'"]

[Text] Irkutsk Oblast—The bus was speeding along its regular route, a road designed for shipping timber. Around 700 timber transporters use the road every 24 hours, and for this reason city transport has to maneuver among them even in clear weather. But this day the area near the timber industry combine was shrouded in dense fog because of discharges into the atmosphere.

When bus driver F. Shcherbakov noticed the timber transporter ahead of him, he turned sharply to the right—but it was too late. Huge logs hurled into the bus, crushing all in their path. Fourteen people were killed.

The consequences of the tragedy could have been even more serious. A Kama truck loaded with timber was behind the bus. Its driver turned his wheel to the right at the last moment and the truck ended up on its side in a drainage ditch.

"A traffic jam had formed on the road a few minutes before the accident," V. Mukhortov, chief of the oblast highway patrol, said. "Three vehicle collisions, fortunately without casualties, occurred as a result of the poor visibility. The investigation will assess the extent of the drivers' culpability."

Fogs caused by the adverse environmental situation are not unusual here. The purification facilities of the Bratsk Timber Industry Combine are sited on both sides of the road, and the timber dumps are constantly emitting smoke. But only after the tragedy occurred did the special monitoring stations start looking into which enterprises were to blame for the fog. And only now has it been decided to build another road to separate the flows of freight and passenger transport. The cost of this belated realization is 5 accidents in a single hour, and human lives.

Economic

Economist Warns Against Imminent Supply Crisis

AU0603153189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 6 Mar 89 p 2

[Uwe Engelbrecht dispatch: "Soviet Union Threatened With Total Supply Crisis"]

[Text] Moscow—A prominent Soviet reform economist has warned against the imminent total collapse of the consumer goods supply. According to Otto Latsis, deputy editor-in-chief of the party magazine KOMMUNIST, the Soviet Union will be in the same situation as

Poland in 1981-82 if the disastrous shortage of goods registered in 1988 continues for another year: There will be empty shelves and "trade will simply cease to exist."

In the USSR Latsis sees the same symptoms which preceded the serious Polish supply crisis in those years: A "flight from money" which does not serve to meet demands, but is reflected in nervous hoarding and thus removes one article after another from the shops. Because of surplus money amounting to hundreds of billions of rubles "people are buying goods not because they need them, but because they are available." The USSR cannot long tolerate the speed and the scope with which the situation on the consumer market deteriorated last year.

Latsis blames the halfheartedness of the economic reforms for this development: While the greater independence of the enterprises gradually makes them work more economically, the industrial ministries and other state economic institutions have been left with the traditional rights to a policy of expenditures at their own discretion. Their unproductive waste of state financial means has meanwhile gone totally out of control, makes an ever bigger hole in the state budget, increases inflation, and impedes the intended preferential treatment of the consumer goods sector over the capital goods industry.

In fact, the target of faster growth in the consumer goods industry compared with the capital goods industry, which has been aimed at for 3 years, has not been reached. The ministerial bureaucracy continues to pump enormous amounts of money into new projects and investment ruins, and thus only increases the amount of currency in circulation. In addition, consumer goods imports have been considerably reduced because of a lack of foreign currency.

The people's aimless buying mania, often fanned by rumors about forthcoming price reforms or further shortages, has led to one crisis in deliveries after another over the past few months: Almost instantaneously, first sugar disappeared from the shops, then detergents and cosmetics, irons, and even television sets.

Because of the danger of the supply crisis turning into a political crisis, the reduction of power of the numerous ministers, which has to date been blocked by the Council of Ministers under the leadership of head of government Nikolay Ryzhkov, becomes an urgent key problem of the reform policy. However, the imminent supply disaster would not be averted by the determined solution of this problem alone.

Like many other economists, Latsis also recommends raising loans amounting to R1 to R2 billion in order to calm down the market, mainly by the import of high-quality consumer goods, such as household electronics, video technology, or home computers.

* Demonopolization of Insurance, Competition Urged

WA1820023I Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 1

[Article by L. Voronin: "The Risk is Worth the Money"]

[Text] Moscow—Is it possible to insure a plant? Not only from fire or flood, but, for example, in the event of a risky transaction? For our managers such questions are, alas, rhetorical. The Gosstrakh [state insurance] does not provide services of this kind.

But what is actually so surprising? Insurance of industrial enterprises, like any other state property (with rare exceptions) was abolished in our country as early as the thirties. If damage has been caused to the fixed capital of enterprises, the losses were covered by higher agencies or through the state budget. The very concept of insurance in industry died out.

Now we are entering an age of economic reform. The enterprises are receiving their long-awaited independence. The economic behavior of the managers will inevitably involve risk. Will they want to take risks, even for high profits, if they are practically unprotected in the face of any random occurrence? Will they not take another path—the variant that does not involve losses, even if it is less effective? In order for this not to happen, the insurance system must change. An example is provided by developed countries with market economies where the concepts of economic risk and insurance have long been linked. Methods of estimating risk and means of protection have merged into a special discipline which is called "risk management." The staffs of the corporations and firms included special sections that deal with insurance problems. Our country does not have such specialists, although this certainly does not mean that there is no risk from which to be protected.

It seems to me that the radical economic reform caught our Gosstrakh unawares. To be sure, today it has brought forth the concept of its own development. But this concept, to put it mildly, does not correspond to the modern level. I will try to prove my viewpoint.

I am convinced that one of the main tasks of the necessary reform is demonopolization of the insurance business and competition. And the Gosstrakh, responding to this requirement, is changing its regional subdivisions over to economic accountability. They can even be granted the status of corporate bodies. Having received a certain amount of economic independence, these subdivisions are supposed to compete with one another. Here it is just difficult to imagine how, for instance, the administration for Smolensk Oblast will be able to compete with the Krasnodar Kray administration.

Another potential competitor for the Gosstrakh are the cooperatives. Announcements of their organization in various regions of the country have appeared in the press. But certain of them have already halted their activity. And this is not surprising. In order to conduct insurance operations successfully one needs not only professional experience and good qualifications, but also significant monetary funds in the form of charter and reserve funds. The cooperatives do not have these funds. As a result they cannot provide reliable protection. What kind of competitors are they?

Furthermore, a series of measures have been developed in the area of insurance of industrial enterprises. At the same time the Gosstrakh is clearly not sure that industry will take the initiative. This is why it is suggesting providing this insurance, but on a mandatory basis. They are also intending to insure mandatory rates of insurance premiums. As experience shows, they cannot flexibly take into account the interests of the clients and be perceived by them—and quite correctly!—as something like tax collectors. In a word, even under the new conditions, the old, extra-economic methods of coercion come to the fore.

It is clear that this concept corresponds not so much to the needs of the economy and to the interests of the Gosstrakh itself. Its monopoly will be used as before to draw unearned profit.

I am convinced that a primary and necessary condition for the "insurance reform" is the elimination of monopolies. We must have other strong insurance enterprises. Each of them should pay taxes at the same rates and, except for taxes, they should not pay the Ministry of Finance anything else. The Ministry of Finance should finally understand that insurance exists not only for supplementing the state budget but also for protecting the economic interests of the enterprises and citizens.

In the West the activity of such companies is regulated by a multitude of legislative acts. The books of the insurance companies are carefully checked by auditing firms. They monitor the availability of reserves and also the monetary funds that are available at any time, the distribution of capital investments, and many other things. If you do not meet the requirements you lose your license or you pay a fine. In certain countries special agencies exercise what is called insurance supervision.

What is the solution? Of course it is possible to invite foreign companies into the country: They would bring with them both their experience and their capital. Some of them are literally rushing to us, wanting to create joint insurance enterprises. For this "science" it will undoubtedly be necessary to pay a high price, and most likely in foreign currency, of which we do not have enough.

The situation can also be changed in another way, but only if the Gosstrakh is divided up into several all-union enterprises which will begin to specialize, say, according to the branch indicator. At the same time they could provide similar kinds of insurance.

The competition should indeed be healthy and conscientious. It should threaten neither the interests of the clients nor the financial condition of the insurance enterprises themselves. Consequently, it is necessary to develop the corresponding legal acts. They will regulate the position of these enterprises in the USSR and determine their charter and reserve funds, interrelations with the state budget, and also the status and the rights of the agencies that monitor them.

This reorganization would make it possible to strengthen our insurance business and make it more flexible and modern. It is sad that up to this point the Ministry of Finance, which is responsible for the insurance business, has not even begun its restructuring. Apparently the ministry is interested in the Gosstrakh only as a "tax collector." Now this policy clearly contradicts the principles of the economic reform.

Agricultural

CPSU Official Discusses Agriculture, Food Goals

LD1303215489 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 13 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 13 (CTK correspondents)—The Soviet Communist Party Central Committee session on March 15-16 must work out strategic measures in the sphere of agriculture and food production the results of which will be felt in the coming years and mainly in the years of the 13th five-year plan period.

This point was emphasized by Vladimir Shimko, head of the Socio-Economic Department of the CPSU Central Committee [name and title as received], in an interview with CTK today.

The plenary session will discuss improvements in Soviet agriculture on three levels. First of all it will be changes in production relations for which various proposals have been made, such as improving the activity of collective and state farms and establishing agricultural-industrial complexes. There is a growing tendency to extend the lease contract. In any case, the management of the Soviet agricultural-industrial complex must be improved. It is necessary to find efficient forms of farmers' relation to land, naturally without giving up the principles of socialism. The old way of constant investments must be abandoned. Nothing can be achieved without a change in production relations. The second task is to solve the social problems of the Soviet countryside and specially pointed out the construction of new roads and increases in gas supplies to agricultural areas. [sentence as received]

The third target is to increase the rate of scientific-technological development which would directly influence the level of food supply for the population.

We do not intend to run the everyday work of the ministries but will deal with nation-wide issues, such as capital construction and ecology. A radical change in the methods of our work will be a difficult but inevitable process, Vladimir Shimko stressed.

Military

Yazov Gives Speech at Moscow Garrison Meeting

PM1203141489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Mar 89 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Communists—the Vanguard of Restructuring: Moscow Garrison Party Aktiv Meeting With Army General D.T. Yazov, Candidate Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Defense Minister"; date not given]

[Text] The meeting was held at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army. It opened with an introductory speech by Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Army General D. Yazov then addressed those present.

The restructuring that began nearly 4 years ago, he said, is taking an ever deeper hold on the economy, politics, ideology, defense building, science, culture—all spheres of Soviet people's activity. As it changes the life around us, it changes us, too, makes our views politically keener and our convictions more active, and offers scope for action and creativity.

The time that has elapsed since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum has confirmed our party's ideological and political leadership. As initiator and leader of restructuring, the party formulated its general line, strategy, and tactics, and made the restructuring of its own activity a priority task. Renouncing management functions and other functions not properly belonging to it, the CPSU set a course of ensuring full power of the soviets and political partnership with social organizations.

Today, as we watch and with our direct participation, the defense minister went on, a **new political system is forming** in the country. This process is manifested particularly clearly in the present election campaign, which is focused on matters connected with ways of further developing our society and implementing its revolutionary restructuring, as well as on the party's election platform, the candidate deputies' specific programs, and voters' instructions.

Among the candidate USSR people's deputies are 121 people representing the Armed Forces. Their election programs are based on the party's platform, are aimed at strengthening the country's defense capability and enhancing the combat readiness of the Army and Navy, and are oriented toward the Soviet people's real needs and concerns. In the final stage of the election campaign it is important to step up as much as possible the ideological and mass agitation activity of party organizations, to study voters' instructions carefully, where possible to fulfill them promptly, and in general to outline a clear program for their implementation.

Noting that the election struggle is a crucial political task, Army General D. Yazov noted the importance of active, effective, influential participation by all Communists. Every Communist must protect the purity of the title of party member, defend our socialist values, our socialist choice, and our commitment to the ideas of social justice, demonstrate the correctness of the party's course of restructuring, put this course firmly and consistently into practice, and actively and unswervingly uphold the people's interests, Leninist internationalist principles, and the cause of strengthening the might and security of the Soviet motherland.

The defense minister went on to dwell on the range of measures formulated in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and Central Committee plenums aimed at taking our country to new heights of economic and sociopolitical progress. This aim is served by the radical **economic reform** that embraces all sectors of the national economy. Major steps are planned in all areas of economic restructuring. They involve, first and foremost, increasing commodity resources and services for the population. In order to resolve tasks in this area hundreds of defense enterprises are becoming involved in the radical retooling of light and food industry. Major measures are also being implemented to impose order in capital construction and ensure the wide introduction of economic methods, full economic accountability, the collective contract, and the lease system. Priority tasks include the resolution of the food problem and the consistent and radical restructuring of production relations in the agrarian sector of our economy. This will be discussed at the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum. The main condition for realizing the goals of economic reform is highly productive labor based on the wide introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the most effective forms and methods of economic activity and oriented toward the consistent resolution of social problems.

The defense minister drew attention to the complex, multifaceted processes involved in **restructuring in the ideological sphere**. The main starting points in this sphere from which the party is working to democratize society's life and widen and deepen glasnost and socialist pluralism of opinions are Soviet people's key, vital interests and loyalty to the cause of socialism, the Leninist ideological and theoretical heritage, and the international unity and friendship of our country's peoples. Army and Navy Communists should defend these positions and draw on them in their ideological work. They should exert political influence on all aspects of military life, drawing on their strength of conviction, competence, and clear and accurate arguments. This applies to the economy, politics, social development, and ecology. It applies to scientific and technical progress, defense building, culture, and art. It also applies to international relations.

Questions of **ethnic relations** hold a special place in ideological restructuring. The party's principled approach to these questions is set forth in the relevant resolution of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee election platform. They will be examined in detail at the Central Committee plenum that is to be held in summer. The crux of the party's approach to the resolution of ethnic and interethnic problems is that these problems can only be resolved in the context of restructuring, which is a continuation of the Leninist nationalities policy in present-day conditions. Their urgency must not be underestimated, as sometimes happened in the past. Calls for national regeneration through separation and self-isolation and attempts to resort to the methods of pressure and diktat and extremist actions in the guise of democracy must be given a principled, unequivocal assessment and an uncompromising rebuff.

Thoughtful, painstaking work is required of command and political cadres, political workers, party organizations, and all Communists to establish relations of friendship and comradeship in military collectives and mold and strengthen a truly internationalist spirit in every subunit, unit, and ship and in the Army and Navy as a whole. What is needed is the systematic study of the feelings of personnel and concrete work with people that is individual to the highest degree and is based on knowledge of the peculiarities of national character, customs, and traditions, and on an equal and even-handed attitude toward servicemen of whatever nationality. It is important to demonstrate in practice and on the basis of specific examples and facts from history and the present day that the guarantee of the elimination of existing shortcomings and of successful progress in socioeconomic building lies not in driving the Soviet peoples into their various national corners, but in rallying them still more closely on a common socialist basis.

It is necessary more actively, with the wide use of all forms of political education work and the mass media, to publicize the feats of servicemen at Chernobyl and in Armenia, other instances of worthy fulfillment of patriotic and international duty, and examples of the indissoluble combat friendship of officers and men. In a word, both the mind and the heart must be invested in international education. Then the Army will be a real school of internationalism in effect, in practice. The "graduates" of this school, after worthily fulfilling their military duty in the ranks of the Armed Forces, will continue after their discharge to the reserves to cherish and augment the ideas and traditions of socialist internationalism, friendship, and fraternity of peoples.

Army General D. Yazov devoted much attention to the state of affairs **in the international arena** and the consistent pursuit of the CPSU's foreign policy course, which is closely connected with the profound internal transformations in the country and is aimed at ensuring the maximum utilization of political opportunities for lessening international tension, achieving mutual understanding with the West, resolving international contradictions through dialog and talks, and seeking reasonable compromises.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states did everything to bring about the talks that began recently in Vienna on confidence and security building measures in Europe and on conventional Armed Forces from the Atlantic to the Urals. The decisions by the USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries on large-scale unilateral reductions in their Armed Forces and armaments gave them a powerful boost. It is logical to expect steps in response on the part of the West in those types of arms where NATO has superiority. The Soviet Union hopes that the start of the Vienna talks will act as a catalyst in the general disarmament process—both in the attainment of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States, and in the conclusion of a convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. Tactical nuclear systems and naval forces should also be involved in this process, and confidence and security building measures should be extended not only to ground forces, but also to naval forces, as well as autonomous activity by air forces.

The new political thinking is forging a path through piles of obsolete stereotypes, through the resistance of reactionary circles. These circles call for "compensation" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles eliminated under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and for the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons. Intensive efforts are being made in the United States and NATO to create new generations of conventional arms. A new concept of "strategic competition" is now current there, which means once again involving the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries in rivalry, this time with a "technological" slant. Work continues on the SDI program, which provides for the militarization of space.

Attempts by reactionary circles to impose unilateral disarmament on the Soviet Union while themselves "upgrading" their arms in the hope of securing a decisive military superiority are accompanied by massive propaganda attacks on the approximate parity that exists between the two military-political alliances. Here a selective approach is used in demonstrating the asymmetries that exist and assessing the balance of forces. The USSR's approach to questions of parity is based on the principles of realism and the balance of interests, and is permeated by sincere commitment to strengthening universal peace and the peoples' security. The building and training of the Soviet Armed Forces is organized and their combat readiness maintained at the necessary level in accordance with this approach, which shows good will, restraint, and firmness and at the same time accords with the requirements of our defensive doctrine and the principle of reasonable sufficiency.

The Soviet Armed Forces, the defense minister stressed, are in present conditions one of the most significant, truly effective factors in preventing war, preserving peace, and safeguarding international security. They are the support of Soviet people's peaceful labor. The party and people have invested them with the main responsibility for maintaining the country's defense capability, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his UN speech, at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency, so that no one is tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies. This determines the place and role of our Armed Forces in restructuring. As an integral, organic part of society, they participate actively in all restructuring processes and in the nationwide work of revolutionary renewal of the country, and at the same time are restructuring themselves.

The nature of restructuring in the Army and Navy is given concentrated expression in the provision of the 19th All-Union Party Conference on ensuring the effectiveness of defense building on the basis primarily of quality indicators. The reduction of the Armed Forces makes it particularly urgent to improve these indicators at every level and in all components. Over a 2-year period the numerical strength of our troops will be reduced by 500,000. Tens of thousands of officers, ensigns, and warrant officers will be discharged from the Armed Forces. Naturally, what is basically an isolated exodus of professional cadres cannot but make it more difficult to resolve the tasks facing formations and units. And we can only make up for this by improving organization, military order, and the intensiveness of combat training and service of all those who remain in the ranks. In other words, by a substantial improvement in quality.

There is also another, social aspect to this question in connection with ensuring social justice and social security for servicemen subject to cuts. As for the reduction in the officer corps, this will take place first and foremost from those who have served the stipulated term, have pension rights, and have housing. Everything is being done to ensure the timely, high quality fulfillment of all the planned measures to build housing, implement the planned concessions, and help discharged servicemen to find jobs. All this will be done in an atmosphere of openness and glasnost.

The defense minister dwelt in detail on the quality indicators of the **combat readiness of the Armed Forces.** They are determined by the strictly defensive nature of Soviet military doctrine and the need to ensure that war is prevented and possible aggression is reliably repulsed irrespective of the conditions in which it is launched. It is clear that all these indicators are achieved not automatically, not on their own, but through persistent, harmonious, purposeful work on the part of commanding officers, political organs, staffs, party and Komsomol organizations, and all personnel. It is also clear that there can be no question of combat readiness being maintained at the requisite level without ensuring a high standard of **troop and naval force training.** Quality indicators here are shaped on the basis of the mastery of tactical proficiency. Particular significance is attached to the precise organization of the training and educational process, a high level of discipline during classes and exercises, and the maximum useful return on every hour and minute of training time.

The improvement of quality indicators is directly dependent on the establishment everywhere of strict regulation order and **a high level of military discipline.** To achieve this objective it is important to know how people feel, probe their needs and requirements, meet their legitimate interests, and display concern for them. Army General D. Yazov spoke about the experience of successful work to eradicate nonregulation mutual relations and maintain regulation order in units and subunits. This is the experience of restructuring. It is important to do everything to ensure that this experience receives all possible support, becomes widespread, and is put into practice everywhere. Only then—when the person is placed at the center of all our work—he said, can we implement Lenin's well known behest, which is essentially the formula for success in strengthening discipline: "Live in the midst of people. Know how they feel. Know everything. Understand the masses. Know how to approach them. Win their ABSOLUTE.... Leaders must not be cut off from the masses they lead...." Making this formula a guide to daily practical action means engaging the human factor and placing it at the service of the cause of establishing real military order. That is the first point.

Second. The prevention of violations of military discipline is highly significant. And for this to be effective it is important to involve in the struggle for order and discipline the soldiers and sergeants themselves, all officers—the Army and Navy community—and to make maximum use of the educational potential of the democratic institutions which exist among the troops. Glasnost must become an effective weapon for preventing violations and crimes.

Third. Qualitative improvements in strengthening discipline and instilling regulation order cannot be achieved unless punishment for committing misdemeanors and crimes is assured. Just as it must be guaranteed that no incident passes without action being taken. Impunity and connivance are the rust which gradually erode discipline and the very foundations of military order. All efforts and resources must be aimed at creating an atmosphere of intolerance toward any deviations from the requirements of the regulations and implacability toward instances of concealment of violations. It is important to improve the legal standard of command and political cadres and all personnel and to make full use of the process of the democratization of military life to ensure socialist legality in units and institutions.

Life insistently demands the intensification of restructuring in the Armed Forces, Army General D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, said in conclusion. The resolution of this task depends to a decisive extent on the political and professional activeness of Communists and all Army and Navy personnel. The times we live in oblige us to approach all questions from party and state positions. The maximum competence, efficiency, initiative, and persistence are required of all of us. Herein lies the decisive guarantee of the successful fulfillment of all the tasks of restructuring and the achievement of a qualitatively new level for our Armed Forces.

The defense minister answered questions from those present.

The meeting was also addressed by Colonel General G. Krivosheyev; V. Tsarkov, colonel general of aviation; Colonel Yu. Chirkov; Vice Admiral Krylov; Colonel N. Loktionov; and Major I. Mityukov.

Aid for Veterans' Rehabilitation Urged

PM1303155389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Mar 89 Second Edition p 2

[Letter from A. Kotenev, chairman of the "Dolg" Union action group: "And So They've Returned. The 'Dolg' Union Unites Yesterday's 'Afghans'"]

[Text] Moscow—My relatives were lucky: I did return home from Afghanistan, although badly wounded. But how many families received notification of the death of their loved ones.... Young invalids and guys with an air of estrangement about them have appeared on the streets. They have formed a special scale of values which has sometimes evoked in other, "peaceful" military chiefs and the official bureaucracy the horror of incomprehension and mistrust.

In short, with the beginning of the events in Afghanistan a new social phenomenon emerged in our society that some people have found hard to grasp—the "Afghan." With his own concepts forged on the border between life and death and with his own physical and moral pain. And maybe that is why dictionaries of ethics and upbringing failed to envisage such a form of interpersonal communication as compassion, and maybe that is why the mass media spent a long time eagerly and delightedly describing internationalist soldiers planting flowers and trees in that "ancient mountainous land," why military newspapers turned real battles into "make-believe" battles with a theoretical opponent, why compassion for the victims of this war spent 9 long years carving a path for itself before it crystallized into the realization of our duty toward them—the living and the dead. However, even now, to our shame, by no means everyone is fully aware of this duty....

Is that why some lads landed up in jail and, unable to endure the trials and tribulations with their legitimate demands, became addicted to hard drink and entered the world of crime?

Of course, it cannot be said that the soldiers of yesteryear have been left wholly to their own devices. Their social problems are gradually being resolved. That, however, is the trouble—this is too gradual a process....

There is not a single one of our soldiers in Afghanistan now. The sons of fathers who did not fight have returned home. And some children did not return from the war to the mothers who waited and waited for them....

What kind of reception have our various organizations been giving to the "Afghans"? It is perhaps the VUZ's that have the most cordial and solicitous attitude toward them. Students and former soldiers talk with great warmth about the leadership of Moscow State University, the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, the Moscow Aviation Institute, and a number of the capital's other VUZ's. They have been seriously aware of the problem linked with young people who served in Afghanistan and of the need to provide conditions for their psychological adaptation, the development of their abilities, and their moral self-improvement. But do not let these pleasing, reassuring facts obstruct the view of those people of an ardent conscience.

Data on our losses in Afghanistan have been announced officially. But death also catches up with former soldiers and officers on their native soil: Wounds and ailments acquired "across the river" add to the grievous list of losses. What does duty command us to do? To continually show compassion through constant concern for the families of the dead. That is precisely the point—we must show constant concern, not just from time to time. With this in view we must first set up a working data "bank" indicating who needs what. Remembering that man does not live by bread alone.... Suffering parents need moral support in addition to material support.

Take the immortalization of the memory of the fallen. Piles of garbage have begun to appear at certain cemeteries alongside the tombs of "Afghans." Why is that? Any sensible, honest individual realizes that our dead sons are guilty of nothing, they have paid with their lives for other people's miscalculations, fulfilling their orders to the end....

What is life like for disabled "Afghans"? Many are at the mercy of ridiculous "prohibitions." Even if they want to work where they worked before they went into the Army, that is banned by the Labor Law Code, thus depriving them at a stroke of both the joy of working and communicating and—which is also extremely important—of "spare" cash....

The problem of creating special work places for disabled people among healthy people is still at the "discussion stage," because specialized enterprises that employ solely people who have lost their health artificially cut them off as it were from common concerns and restrict their social activity. Which theater or concert hall and what transport have made modifications making travel and seating easier for the disabled? Yet virtually all civilized countries have such devices.

Year in year out the problem of creating comfortable, modern wheelchairs "is being resolved"—yet it will never be resolved. Although there are projects for joint enterprises with foreign firms, things are barely moving. What does this indicate? That the "Afghans" lack vigorous, competent, and truly benevolent patrons. After the Armenian earthquake people began to set up a prosthetics center there. What kind of earthquake is needed in Moscow to construct this kind of center in the capital?

All these problems have also prompted the idea of creating the "Dolg" [Duty] Union, made up of people concerned about the future of those who suffered in Afghanistan—but not only there. It aims to offer constant aid to the families of the dead and to the invalids. Whole groups of specialists are now prepared to take an active involvement in the psychological rehabilitation of the "Afghan" soldiers. The need is arising to create scientific and methodical centers with regional branches throughout the country. The work of the "Dolg" Union allocates a great place to young people's education. "Afghan lessons" provide us with suggestions on how to foster patriotism in the rising generation, rationally organize kids' leisure activities and physical education, and strengthen children's health.

We, the "Dolg" Union aktiv, know from our own experience how the "Afghans" live and breathe, and we reckon that most of these lads, who have grown old before their time, constitute an active, constructive, and energetic social force today. Many of them have already embarked on work in the production sphere and have at the same time taken on the burden of caring for "problem" adolescents. But we, the organizers of the "Dolg" Union, believe that the "Afghans" can create progressive lease enterprises and cooperatives, enlist other people through their enthusiasm, improve the moral climate in society, and offer substantial aid to local soviets.

I do not believe that it is good for society to "equate" the lads who went through hell in Afghanistan with everyone else. It only suits an official who wants to brush aside the difficult cares of an irregular social and psychological stratum and threatens an avalanche of new and unpredictable problems.

That is why "Dolg" is seeking allies. It seeks to have among the like-minded party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol officials, servicemen, medics, lawyers, sociologists, cultural and religious figures—everyone who would like to do good now rather than tomorrow. There must be no delay.

We await your letters, reports, and proposals, dear friends, at the following address: Block 3, 11 Narvskaya Street, Moscow, 125130; telephone—450-25-29.

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